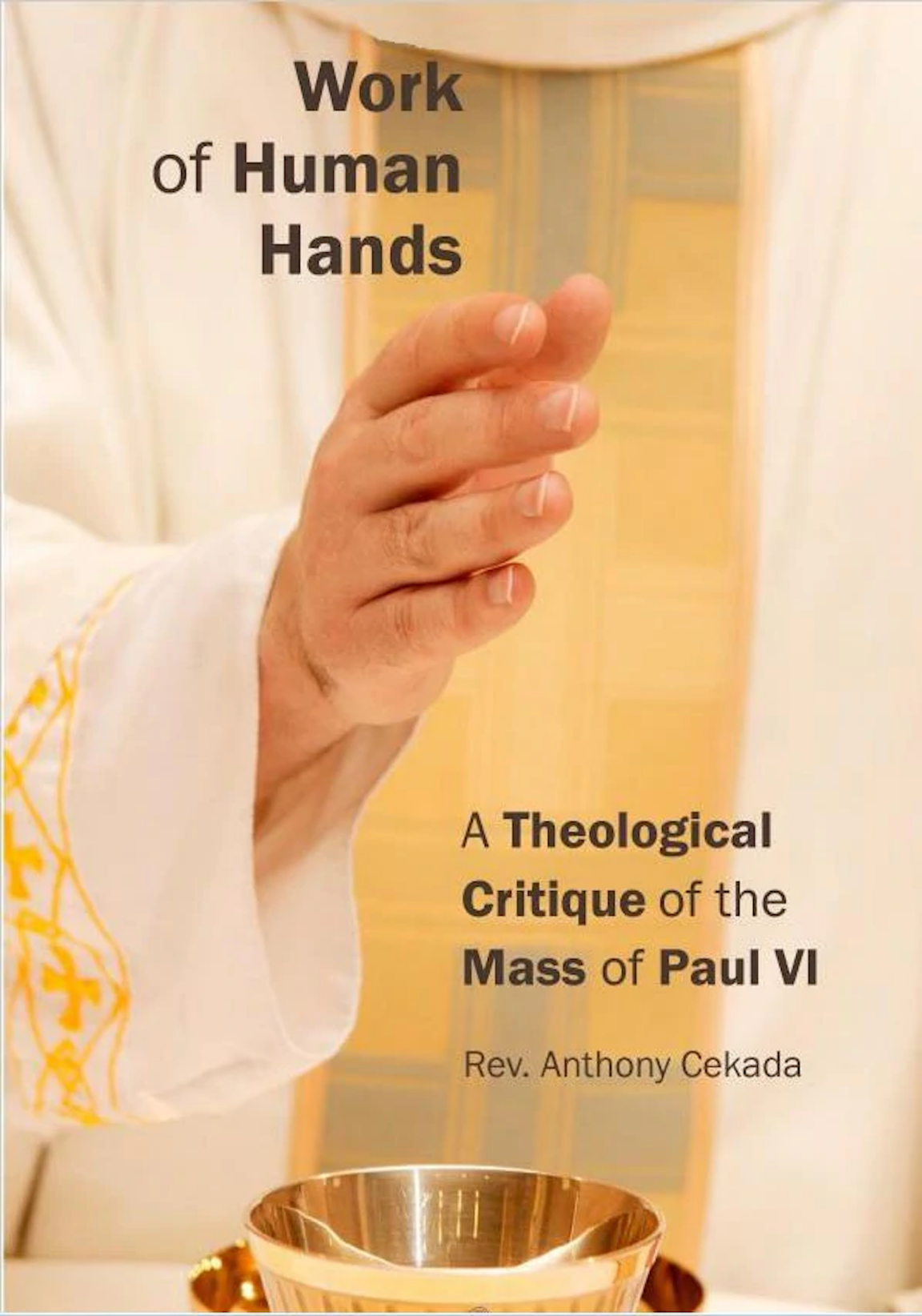
# Work of Human Hands

## A Theological Critique of the Mass of Paul VI

Rev. Anthony Cekada



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SGG Resources

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SGG Resources

In memory of
The Most Reverend
M.L. Guérard des Lauriers OP
Author of *The Ottaviani Intervention*

Second edition
dedicated to
Fabiola Silvaggi

In the liturgy, every word and every gesture
conveys a theological idea.

*— Archbishop Ferdinando Antonelli OFM*
*Signatory to the 6 April 1969 Decree promulgating the Mass of Paul VI*

Lift up thy hands against their pride unto the end:
See what things the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary.

*— Psalm 73:3*

# Table of Contents


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Bibliographical Abbreviations | xiv |
| | Other Abbreviations | xv |
| | Author's Preface | xvii |
| Chapter 1 | **Old Mass or New Mass: What's the Fuss About?** | 1 |
| | Doctrinal Motives | 2 |
| | Or Mere Preference? | 5 |
| | The Scope of this Work | 7 |
| Chapter 2 | **The Liturgical Movement: The Change Agents** | 13 |
| | Origins of the Movement | 14 |
| | The Movement Takes a Wrong Turn | 15 |
| | Liturgical Studies and Modernism | 17 |
| | Opposition to the Movement | 18 |
| | The Holy See Intervenes | 20 |
| | The Encyclical *Mediator Dei* | 21 |
| | The Movement in the 1950s | 23 |
| | Josef A. Jungmann SJ | 25 |
| | Louis Bouyer | 32 |
| | Montini Before Vatican II | 40 |
| | The Modernist Link Acknowledged | 44 |
| | Summary | 45 |
| Chapter 3 | **Liturgical Changes 1948–1969: The Creation of the New Mass** | 49 |
| | The Pian Reform Commission (1948) | 50 |
| | 1. The Experimental Easter Vigil (1951) | 54 |
| | 2. Simplified Rubrics (1955) | 56 |
| | 3. The New Holy Week (1955) | 58 |
| | 4. The Instruction on Sacred Music (1958) | 61 |
| | 5. The New Code of Rubrics (1960) | 65 |

6. Vatican II's Constitution on the Liturgy (1963) 69
7. Changes in the Order of Mass (1964) 76
8. Mass Facing the People (1965) 77
9. Further Ritual Changes (1967) 77
10. New Eucharistic Prayers (1968) 78
11. The New Order of Mass (1969) 78
Summary 80

Chapter 4 **Latin to the Vernacular: Lost in Translation** 83
The Latin Mass: Origins and Exceptions 85
Latin vs. Vernacular: Doctrinal Issues 88
Post-Vatican II Translation Errors 92
Rome and the Mistranslations 95
If the Pope Had Only Known... 101
Summary 101

Chapter 5 **The 1969 General Instruction: The Mass as Assembly** 103
1. What is the Mass? 105
2. How is Christ Present at Mass? 110
3. What Does the Mass Re-present? 116
4. Who Offers the Mass? 117
5. The Deregulation of the Liturgy 124
Summary 129

Chapter 6 **The 1970 General Instruction: "The Cleverness of the Revisers"** 133
The Ottaviani Intervention 134
The New Foreword 142
Changes in the Instruction 148
A Clever Revision 155
Summary 157

Chapter 7 **Art, Architecture, Furnishings: Ready for Assembly** 161
"Image of the Gathered Assembly" 162
Mass Facing the People 164
The New Sanctuary 172

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | The Vanishing Tabernacle | 179 |
| | Statues and Images | 182 |
| | Side Altars | 184 |
| | Sacred Vessels | 186 |
| | The Priestly Vestments | 188 |
| | The New Mass and Retro Externals | 191 |
| | Summary | 192 |
| Chapter 8 | **Introductory Rites: Meeting and Greeting** | 195 |
| | Preliminary Notes | 196 |
| | A New Direction and Purpose | 197 |
| | Exit the Introit | 199 |
| | Greeting the Assembly | 201 |
| | The Penitential Act | 204 |
| | The Kyrie | 210 |
| | The Gloria | 212 |
| | The Collect | 213 |
| | General Desacralizing Effects | 216 |
| | Summary | 217 |
| Chapter 9 | **The Revised Orations: "New Values, New Perspectives"** | 219 |
| | The Origins of the Orations | 220 |
| | The Process of Revision | 221 |
| | Statistics on the Revisions | 222 |
| | "New Values, New Perspectives" | 223 |
| | The Elimination of "Negative Theology" | 224 |
| | The Christian and the World | 231 |
| | Prayers for the Departed | 234 |
| | Accommodating Ecumenism | 236 |
| | The Merits of the Saints | 240 |
| | The Disappearance of Miracles | 241 |
| | The Consequences | 243 |
| | Summary | 244 |

Chapter 10 **The Liturgy of the Word: Adroit Choices, Gigantic Voices** 247
New Direction and Personnel 249
The Restructured Rite 250
The Traditional Lectionary 257
Vatican II and the Readings 258
The Creation of the New Lectionary 260
Distinctive Characteristics 263
"Truly Difficult Texts" 265
Analysis 272
Summary 273

Chapter 11 **The Preparation of the Gifts: New Offerings** 275
The Traditional Offertory Rite 276
Luther's Objections 278
Why Abolish the Offertory? 279
The Offertory Chant 281
The Lay Offertory Procession 282
Offering the Victim 283
Bread of Life, Spiritual Drink 285
Preparing the Chalice 290
In the Spirit of Humility 291
Come, the Sanctifier 292
Incensation Prayers 293
The Washing of Hands 295
Receive, O Holy Trinity 296
Pray, Brethren 297
The Secret 298
The Prayer Over the Gifts 299
Summary 302

Chapter 12 **The Eucharistic Prayer: "Deplorable Impoverishment"** 305
The Preface 306
The Sanctus 308

Origins of the Roman Canon 309
The Movement to Change the Canon 310
Sacred Stillness Reigns No More 316
For You And For — All? 320
The New Eucharistic Prayers 324
The New Texts 327
Changes in the Consecration 337
Summary 349

Chapter 13 **The Communion Rite: Impiety in Action** 353
The Our Father 353
The Libera Nos 355
Preparations for Communion 358
Distribution of Communion 361
Communion in the Hand 369
Rites After Communion 374
The Concluding Rite 375
Cumulative Effects 379
Summary 381

Chapter 14 **Conclusions: "The Mass is Ended..."** 383
1. A Rupture with Living Tradition 383
2. A Spurious "Restoration" of Antiquity 384
3. Grave Irreverence 386
4. The Destruction of Catholic Doctrine 389
Three Solutions 396
Delenda Est 400

Appendix 403

Bibliography 407

Index 427

# Bibliographical Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AAS | *Acta Apostolicae Sedis.* (Periodical: Rome) |
| CE | *Catholic Encyclopedia.* 1910. |
| DOL | *Documents on the Liturgy: 1963-1979.* (Paragraph number) |
| DZ | Denziger-Bannwart. *Enchiridion Symbolorum.* 31st ed. |
| EEFL | Lodi. *Enchiridion Euchologicum Fontium Liturgicorum.* (Paragraph number) |
| EL | *Ephemerides Liturgicae.* (Periodical: Rome) |
| ESR | Clark. *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation.* |
| GI | *General Instruction on the Roman Missal.* |
| HSM | Gihr. *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.* |
| IL | Guéranger. *Institutions Liturgiques.* |
| L | *Lectionary* [1969]. (Reading number) |
| LB | Seasoltz, ed. *Living Bread, Saving Cup.* |
| LI | Lectionary, *Introduction.* |
| LO | Jounel, ed. *Liturgia Opera Divina e Umana.* |
| LP | Bouyer. *Liturgical Piety.* |
| LRC | King. *Liturgy of the Roman Church.* |
| M | Bruylants. *Les Oraisons du Missel Romain.* (Oration number in vol. 2.) |
| M70 | *Missale Romanum* [the new Missal]. 1970. |
| MD | Pope Pius XII. *Mediator Dei.* (Paragraph number) |
| MRR | Jungmann. *Mass of the Roman Rite (Missarum Sollemnia).* |
| OI | *Ottaviani Intervention.* Cekada, translator. |
| OMP | Patino, ed. *New Order of Mass: Text & Commentary.* |
| PG | Migne. *Patrologia Graeca.* |
| PGC | Coughlan. *The New Mass: A Pastoral Guide.* |
| PL | Migne. *Patrologia Latina.* |
| PTL | *Papal Teachings: The Liturgy.* Monks of Solesmes, ed. |
| RL | Bugnini. *La Riforma Liturgica.* |
| RV | De Marco. *Rome and the Vernacular.* |
| SC | Vatican II. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. *Sacrosanctum Concilium.* |
| TM | Fortescue. *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy.* |
| TNM | Jungmann. *The [New] Mass: Theological... Survey.* |

## Other Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| Advt | *Tempus Adventus*, Advent |
| Annm | *Tempus per Annum*, Ordinary Time |
| Cin | Ash Wednesday through Saturday |
| Epip | *Epiphania*, Epiphany |
| Natv | *Tempus Nativitatis*, Christmas Time |
| Pasc | *Tempus Paschale*, Eastertide |
| Pent | *Tempus Pentecostes*, Pentecost |
| Quad | *Tempus Quadragesimae*, Lent |
| QT | *Quatuor Tempora*, Ember Days |
| S. | *Sanctus, -a,* Saint |
| C | *Collecta*, Opening Prayer, Collect |
| S | *Super Oblata*, Prayer over Gifts, Secret |
| P | *Post Communionem*, Postcommunion |
| SP | *Oratio super Populum*, Prayer over People |
| O | *Oratio*, other orations |
| OB | *Oratio benedictionis*, Blessings |

After abbreviations for the season of the liturgical year, the first number designates the Sunday or week in the season, and the second number designates the day of the week if other than Sunday, e.g., Quad 4.4 = Fourth week of Lent, Wednesday. For Ash Wednesday through the following Saturday, the number after the abbreviation designates the day of the week. Cin 6 = Friday after Ash Wednesday.

# Author's Preface

I BEGAN WORK on this book when I was thirteen years old.

It was the First Sunday of Advent, 29 November 1964. I had just finished serving for the first Mass offered in my parish according to the new rules laid down by the Ecumenical Council. The "new liturgy" (as it was then called) struck me as strange and a little disrespectful. I didn't like it.

I mention this at the outset because in traditionalist circles I am well known as a sedevacantist. But ages before that, the changes in the Mass left me uneasy — and it is these changes, not sedevacantism, that are the topic of this book.

From that first fateful November day onwards (it seemed to my young eyes), everything in the liturgy and in the Church began to fall apart. The next year, in September 1965, I entered a minor seminary, and during the twelve years that followed until my priestly ordination, I observed up close and from the inside the destruction of the Mass and the attacks against the Catholic faith that followed in the wake of Vatican II.

Even from my first year in the seminary high school, I wanted to be part of the battle. I threw myself into studying organ and musical composition so I could fight against the trash (folk, pop, spirituals, recordings) that was just starting to replace sacred music at Mass. I read books on the liturgy, attended conservative conferences and subscribed to publications (*The Wanderer*, *Triumph*) that denounced the desacralization of the liturgy and the soon ubiquitous modernist heresies.

As my musical abilities developed, I sought out employment in parishes where the clergy were more conservative, and where I would be free to use only music written in a traditional style. Once the Mass of Paul VI appeared in 1969, I immersed myself in learning the new rules that came with it, so that in my work as a church musician I would be able to choose the most "traditional" options that the new rite allowed.

For the first ten of those years, I believed (or perhaps just hoped) that the causes for the devastation I witnessed were to be found not in what the pope and the council *actually* prescribed and taught, but rather in the violations of liturgical law and misinterpretations of Conciliar teaching promoted by "liberals" everywhere. If priests just followed the rubrics for the new liturgy and hewed strictly to Vatican II's teachings, the Mass would be reverent and the faith would be protected.

The reform itself was not the problem; the neo-modernists were.

That belief changed in 1975. By then, I had become a monk in a conservative monastery where all the liturgical functions, including the Mass of Paul VI, were celebrated in Latin and with Gregorian chant. After first vows, the order sent me to Switzerland to study at an ancient abbey that followed similar liturgical practices.

Here though, in the midst of the all the Latin, the Gregorian and the rubrical perfection, was disillusionment. The young monks, to my dismay, were taught the same modernist theology that was rife in American seminaries, and at the conventual Mass they took communion in the hand.

It also happened that Archbishop Lefebvre was much in the news shortly after I arrived in Switzerland. The abbot, who enjoyed a reputation in the order as a conservative liturgical scholar, condemned the archbishop for his "disobedience" over the New Mass and the Council. As our model for true obedience, he proposed instead the fictional abbot in Brian Moore's novel *Catholics*, who out of obedience to his superiors, renounced belief in transubstantiation and urged his monks to do the same.

That night at recreation I had a heated argument with the abbot (the real one) over his statement. That the head of the most liturgically conservative monastery in the world, where all was Latin and by-the-book ceremonial, could seriously say such a thing, moreover, seemed to me an indictment of the New Mass. It was at this point that I began to think that the liturgical reform *itself*, and not merely its interpretation or application, was the real problem.

Shortly thereafter, I left the order, and arranged to enter Archbishop Lefebvre's seminary in Ecône, Switerland. Two years later, he ordained me a priest.

In 1977 I began my priestly work by teaching liturgy courses to seminarians. Naturally, the question of the New Mass repeatedly came up. I began to collect traditionalist writings on the topic in hopes of discovering a clearly written and well documented work that I could recommend to priests, seminarians and laymen alike.

In the English-speaking world, most of the literature on the post-Vatican II liturgical reforms consisted of pamphlets or short booklets. The themes were generally the same: liturgical abuses, the Protestant character of the new rite, the invalidity of the new consecration formula for the chalice and the more obvious defects in the Order of Mass. None of these short works, to my way of thinking, provided an adequate treatment of the many errors and dangers contained in the new rite.

There were nevertheless a few longer works: Patrick Henry Omlor's *Questioning the Validity* (discussed below in Chapter 12), Father James Wathen's *The Great Sacrilege*, and of course, Michael Davies's *Pope Paul's New Mass*.

Davies's 650-page book, first published in 1980, was the lengthiest critique of the New Mass to appear in English, and probably in any other language as well. It contained a great deal of interesting material (particularly on the parallels between the post-Vatican II Mass and the Anglican communion service), lots of trenchant commentary, and many incriminating quotes from the liturgical avant-garde of the day.

Davies, however, had lifted much of the book, more or less *en bloc*, from his previous articles for various traditionalist publications. Thus the book as a whole seemed baggy and unfocused. There were large chunks of indignant prose about "liturgical abuses" (violations of the official norms laid down for the New Mass), the sort of traditionalist boilerplate that one can write on autopilot. Though Davies criticized at great length the New Order of Mass itself and its Protestant overtones, he offered little on the changes in the Propers (variable parts) of the New Mass or on the modernist influences evident in the rite. His general conclusion was that the Mass of Paul VI was "an ingenious essay in ambiguity," which after 650 pages is not really saying very much.

I considered translating from the French Arnaldo Xavier da Silveira's *La Nouvelle Messe de Paul VI*. But while the first half of the book was an excellent and concise treatment of the *Novus Ordo Missae* (and in particular, of its parallels with Luther's reforms), the second half digressed into a lengthy analysis of the question of a heretical pope. The author, moreover, was affiliated with the Brazilian conservative organization TFP which (I had heard) was no longer interested in making the book available.

In 1981 or 1982, therefore, I resolved to write a book of my own about the Mass of Paul VI, and I began gathering material for the project. Some of it I incorporated into *Welcome to the Traditional Latin Mass*, a 1984 booklet (updated four times since) that explained for newcomers the differences between the old Mass and the New Mass.

A turning point for the project came with my discovery of *La Riforma Liturgica (1948–1975)* by Annibale Bugnini, the great architect not only of the Mass of Paul VI, but also of the whole liturgical reform from 1948 onwards. Bugnini's 900-page work, first published in 1983, identified the experts who worked on each part of the reform; this made it possible to consult their writings elsewhere for insights into the whys and wherefores for countless details in the rite.

Because of pastoral commitments and the need to produce shorter articles on a variety of other topics, my work on this project proceeded in fits and starts. By the time I moved to southern Ohio in 1989, I had completed first drafts for eight of the fourteen chapters that follow. I feared that I would

never have time to finish what I had started, so I published some of the research in *The Problems with the Prayers of the Modern Mass*, my 1991 study of the new orations, and in the introduction to my new 1992 English translation of *The Ottaviani Intervention*.

In 1995 I was invited to teach liturgy and canon law at the newly founded Most Holy Trinity Seminary in Warren, Michigan (now Brooksville, Florida). For the liturgy cycle in the 1998–9 academic year, I formulated a one-year course on the liturgy in the modern age. This incorporated some of my own research, as well as material from Father Didier Bonneterre's excellent *Le Mouvement Liturgique*. I refined the course material in successive years when the cycle repeated, and for the 2004–5 year, created what would serve as detailed outlines for three more chapters of this book.

Meanwhile, younger priests in the post-Vatican II milieu began to take an interest in the old rite, and critical comments about the official version of the Mass of Paul VI, rather than just about "abuses," started appearing in books and periodicals published by the mainstream Catholic press. Websites and blogs also contributed to this buzz.

After the election of Benedict XVI in April 2005, it was inevitable that some sort of broader official permission to use the old rite would be granted. This came in July 2007 with Benedict XVI's Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*, which allowed any priest to celebrate Mass using the 1962 Missal, the last edition published before the post-Vatican II liturgical changes were introduced.

The Motu Proprio did not result in Catholics everywhere flocking to the old Mass — Vatican correspondent John Allen says the typical congregation is small, what the Italians call "four cats and a dog." Nevertheless, it allowed more people to see for themselves the striking differences between the old and the new rites, and then, perhaps, seek out the reasons.

In November 2008, therefore, I again took up in earnest the task of finishing this book. One year later, on the First Sunday of Advent 2009, forty years after the Mass of Paul VI was introduced, I completed the final chapter.

It also happened to be forty-five years to the day in 1964 when I first began to wonder why the new liturgy was so disturbing. May this book help other Catholics find the answer at least a bit more quickly.

*— A.C.,*
*West Chester, Ohio*

*December 4, 2009*
*St. Peter Chrysologus*

Chapter 1

# Old Mass or New Mass: What's the Fuss About?

On 7 July 2007 Benedict XVI issued the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*, which allowed priests everywhere to celebrate the "old" or "Tridentine" Latin Mass, using the 1962 Missal, the last version in force before the Second Vatican Council (1962–5).

Catholics who for one reason or another were dissatisfied with the post-Vatican II liturgical changes, and in particular, with the new Order of Mass (*Novus Ordo Missae*) promulgated by Paul VI in 1969, greeted the Motu Proprio with joy. Benedict's action also gave a great boost to Vatican-approved priestly societies (the Fraternity of St. Peter, the Institute of Christ the King, etc.) that had already been using the old rite in their apostolates.

Websites promoting the old Mass proliferated, filled with the latest photos of Solemn High Masses in the old rite, conducted in Roman basilicas by clergy wearing eye-popping Baroque vestments — venues where an attempt to mount such a production ten years earlier would probably have prompted the sacristan to summon the *carabinieri*. Old-style church furnishings connected with the old rite, which were once nearly impossible to find, are available from church goods suppliers once again. Ditto, the old liturgical books and rubrical guides.

The Motu Proprio likewise attracted the attention of a younger, more conservative generation of clergy, both diocesan and religious, who had been using the reformed, post-Vatican II rites in their sacramental ministrations. Organizations that promoted the use of the pre-Vatican II rites conducted seminars and produced videos to teach priests like these how to offer the old Mass correctly.

Articles appeared in the press quoting young priests who spoke enthusiastically about the experience of offering Mass in the old rite — its dignity, the reverential atmosphere that surrounds its celebration, its ordered symmetry and beauty, its deep roots in the tradition of the Church, and so on. In reading such statements, one could sense the depth of the sincerity behind them.

One could also sense something else that was perhaps unintended: the implication that the Mass of Paul VI, in comparison, does *not* possess all these admirable qualities.

This logically leads to a question: Why?

The answer to that question, together with its consequences, is the subject of this book. In brief it will be this: the *doctrinal* presuppositions behind the new rite are different from the doctrinal presuppositions behind the old rite. This difference in turn affected the externals of the new rite: its prayers and ritual gestures. So if one perceives, for instance, that in the old rite the treatment of the Blessed Sacrament is more respectful, the actions of the priest are more dignified, and the atmosphere is more other-worldly when compared with the new rite, this is so because the new rite is based on a new *theology* of the Real Presence, of the priesthood and of the general purpose of the Mass.

If the theology behind the Mass of Paul VI is substantially different — if it does not, in a word, reflect Catholic doctrine — the practical consequences are obvious. A Catholic cannot merely *prefer* the old rite to the new; he must also *reject* the new rite in its entirety. The faith obliges him to do so.

In circles where the old Mass is celebrated under the auspices of a Vatican-approved priestly organization or a diocesan bishop, the doctrinal problems that the Mass of Paul VI presents seem to be either unexplored, ignored, treated obliquely or regarded as a high-voltage third rail which one dare not touch. Instead, motives like beauty or preference are offered for adhering to the old Mass.

## DOCTRINAL MOTIVES

This is extremely ironic. These organizations exist — and indeed, diocesan-sponsored "Motu Proprio" Masses exist — only because the Vatican could not stamp out the ongoing traditionalist resistance to the New Mass that began in the 1960s. And from the beginning, the reasons that traditionalists offered for adhering to the old liturgy and rejecting the liturgical reforms had little to do with beauty or with preference — they were almost exclusively *doctrinal* and *moral*:

(1) *Doctrinal.* The Mass of Paul VI was Protestant, modernist, non-Catholic, destructive to the Catholic faith, a vehicle for doctrinal revolution, and generally, represented a new religion. Hence, a Catholic was obliged to reject the New Mass and seek out a Mass that *was* Catholic, i.e., the "old" or "Tridentine" Mass.

(2) *Moral.* The Mass of Paul VI was grossly irreverent and sacrilegious (it treated sacred things in an unworthy and disrespectful manner) or even invalid (it lacked sacramental efficacy because the meaning of the essential words in the rite had been changed). Hence, a Catholic was obliged to seek out a Mass that treated sacred things reverently and that was unquestionably valid, i.e., a "Tridentine" Mass.

The most well-known critic of the New Mass was, of course, Archbishop

Marcel Lefebvre, founder of the Society of St. Pius X, who ordained priests like me and sent them throughout the world to offer the traditional Latin Mass. From 1969 onwards, when the Mass of Paul VI first appeared, the archbishop considered it a threat to the integrity of Catholic doctrine and the salvation of souls.

Though later, in connection with his efforts to "regularize" the status of the Society of St. Pius X, the archbishop would ask the Vatican to permit an "experiment in tradition" (*la expérience de la tradition*) for those Catholics who preferred it,[1] his earliest pronouncements on the liturgical reform concentrated almost exclusively on condemning its doctrinal errors.

Thus, in a 1971 conference in Rome, Lefebvre denounced the Mass of Paul VI as Protestant, modernist, potentially invalid, embodying a new conception of the Mass and the priesthood, and profaning churches throughout the world.[2] In a 1975 lecture in Florence, he drew parallels between the New Mass and the liturgical reforms of Luther. Since "the law of praying is the law of believing," the archbishop said, "the fact of imitating Luther's reform in the liturgy of the Mass must infallibly lead to the gradual adoption of the very ideas of Luther."[3]

Repeatedly in conferences to us seminarians at Ecône in the 1970s, Archbishop Lefebvre denounced the New Mass as inimical to Catholic doctrine on the Mass, destructive to the Catholic priesthood, and a slow poison for the faith of Catholics who participated in it. Most famously, in his Declaration of 21 November 1974, he said:

> It is not possible profoundly to modify the *lex orandi* [law of praying] without modifying the *lex credendi* [law of believing]. To the New Mass, there corresponds a new catechism, a new priesthood, new seminaries, new universities, the charismatic and Pentecostal Church — all opposed to orthodoxy and to the age-old magisterium of the Church.[4]

The Latin expression that Archbishop Lefebvre used, *lex orandi, lex credendi* (the law of praying is the law of believing), appeared in many of the earliest traditionalist critiques of the New Mass. It is a time-honored formula

1. See the archbishop's account of his 11 September 1976 audience with Paul VI: "When I also said to him that I was, in fact, basing myself on 'pluralism,' I said: 'But, after all, with the present pluralism how would it be to let those who also want to keep Tradition be on the same footing as the others? It is the least that could be granted us.'" Quoted in Michael Davies, *Apologia pro Marcel Lefebvre: Part One* (Dickinson TX: Angelus Press 1979), 283.
2. Marcel Lefebvre, *A Bishop Speaks* (Edinburgh: Una Voce 1976), 94–7.
3. *A Bishop, Speaks,* 198.
4. *A Bishop Speaks*, 190.

used in papal pronouncements, theological works and liturgical commentaries to express the reciprocal relationship between liturgy and dogma.[5]

Put simply, it means that liturgical prayer both *reflects* common beliefs, and *affects* common beliefs. Changes in the doctrinal content of liturgical prayers, therefore, will inevitably change the beliefs of the worshippers. And therein, traditionalists believed, lay the danger of the New Mass.

In the two decades immediately following the introduction of the Vatican II liturgical reforms, traditionalists produced countless books, tracts and articles making essentially this same argument.[6]

In 2001, after interest in the old rite had become more widespread, the Society of St. Pius X raised the doctrinal issue once again in *The Problem of the Liturgical Reform: A Theological and Liturgical Study.*[7] This perceptive and scholarly work systematically analyzed some of the main theological errors behind the reform of the Mass,[8] and concluded that the new rite constitutes a "dogmatic rupture with tradition" and a danger for the faith.

Adherence to the old Mass, then, was bound to the firm rejection of the Mass of Paul VI as inimical to the faith, sacrilegious and potentially invalid. These two themes were inseparable, and were repeatedly sounded, with countless variations, by priests, writers and publications in the traditionalist orbit.

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5. It first appears in the fifth-century *Indiculus de Gratia Dei*, DZ 246, in a passage which appeals to the Church's liturgical prayers as a refutation of the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian errors on grace. "Traditionally, this epigram was a way of saying that the prayer of the Church is one of the places to which we can go to find out what the Church believes." Thomas Richstatter OFM, *Liturgical Law: New Style, New Spirit* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald 1977), 11.

6. Many short works drew their inspiration from the *Short, Critical Study of the Novus Ordo Missae* that Cardinals Ottaviani and Bacci submitted to Paul VI in 1969, a work known in English-speaking countries as *The Ottaviani Intervention.* (See below, Chapter 6.) Among the longer works published were: Father James Wathen's *The Great Sacrilege* (1971), Louis Salleron's *La Nouvelle Messe* (early 1970s), Arnaldo Xavier da Silveira's *La Nouvelle Messe de Paul VI* (first published in Portuguese, 1970–1), Myra Davidoglou's *Analyse du Nouveau Rite* (1978), Michael Davies's *Pope Paul's New Mass* (1980), Daniel Raffard de Brienne's *Lex Orandi: La Nouvelle Messe et la Foi* (1983), Dominique Michel Morin's *Le Sacrifice de la Messe* (1985) and Rama Coomaraswamy's *The Problems with the New Mass* (1990). For the most part these works limited the scope of the material they examined to the Ordinary of the Mass, and did not delve into the changes in the Propers of the Mass (the variable prayers, chants and readings assigned to various feasts and seasons).

7. (Kansas City: Angelus Press 2001).

8. The work even drew well-deserved praise from a theological adversary in the modernist camp. "Nowhere else have I seen what is at stake with the post-Vatican II reform of the liturgy so clearly outlined and so well understood... Nothing seems to escape their attention... In all of this [understanding the theological principles behind the reform] they are completely on target. That is, these are the issues that are at stake in the reform of the liturgy. The reformed liturgy does represent a radical shift in Catholic theology and piety." John F. Baldovin, *Reforming the Liturgy: A Response to the Critics* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 2008), 138–9.

## OR MERE PREFERENCE?

Vatican officials were therefore acutely aware that the underlying basis for traditionalist objections to the Mass of Paul VI was doctrinal. Hence, the 3 October 1984 Indult allowing, under limited circumstances, the celebration of the old Mass according to the 1962 Missal, specified that those who availed themselves of this permission should make it clear that they in no way shared the positions of those who called into question the "doctrinal correctness" of the Missal of Paul VI.[9] This was the price of admission, as it were.

But if it is impermissible for a priest or layman to adhere to the old Mass and reject the Mass of Paul VI on *doctrinal* grounds, what *other* motive could be offered to explain why some Catholics wanted the old Mass? What's the fuss about? The Vatican decided that this would have to be portrayed as mere personal preference or sentiment.

Hence, beginning with the 1984 Indult, pronouncements from the Roman Curia and high-ranking Vatican officials frame the motives for adhering to the old rite in terms of subjective categories like "feelings," "enjoyment," "cultural expressions," "attachment," etc.[10]

In an October 1998 address to the members of the Fraternity of St. Peter, John Paul II spoke of "legitimate diversity and different sensibilities, worthy of respect... stimulated by the Spirit who makes all charismata come together in unity."

In his Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*, Benedict XVI took the same tack. He spoke of the old Mass as a "mark of identity... a form of encounter" for many Catholics that is "particularly suited to them." The old rite possesses "a sacrality which attracts many people," who adhere to it because of "attachment," "affection," "culture," "personal familiarity," etc.

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9. SC Divine Worship, Epistula *Quattuor Abhinc Annos* (3 October 1984), *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 76 (1984), 1088–9. "Sine ambiguitate etiam publice constet talem sacerdotem et tales fideles nullam partem habere cum iis qui legitimam vim doctrinalemque rectitudinem Missalis Romani, anno 1970 a Paulo VI Romano Pontifice promulgati, in dubium vocant."

10. The 1984 Indult *Quattuor Abhinc*: Catholics who are "attached" to the Tridentine Mass. John Paul II's letter *Ecclesia Dei* (1988): The old Mass is part of a "richness for the Church of a diversity of charisms, traditions of spirituality and apostolate, which also constitutes the beauty of unity in variety; of that blended 'harmony' which the earthly Church raises up to Heaven under the impulse of the Holy Spirit.... Respect must be shown for the feelings of all those who are attached to the Latin liturgical tradition." John Paul II, 1990 address to the Benedictines of Le Barroux: The traditional Mass is permitted because the Church "respects and fosters the qualities and talents of the various races and nations.... This concession is meant to facilitate the ecclesial union of persons who feel attached to these liturgical forms." Cardinal Mayer, 1991 letter to the U.S. bishops: "diversity" and respect for "feelings." Cardinal Ratzinger, 1998 address in Rome to traditionalists: "Different spiritual and theological emphases... that richness which pertained to the same single Catholic faith." Cardinal Castrillon-Hoyos, May 2007: "ritual expression enjoyed by some... this sensibility."

As a strategy, this was extremely clever. It sidestepped the doctrinal question entirely. There *is* no doctrinal problem — it's all just choice and options. And if you suspect there *may* be a problem, please don't be so ungrateful to the Holy Father as to mention it...

Moreover, enshrining personal preference as the underlying norm co-opted traditionalist opposition by bringing it under the big tent of post-Vatican II diversity, with its guitar and piano Masses, recycled Lutheran chorales, communion in the hand, occasional Gregorian chants, altar girls, lay Eucharistic ministers, Hindu and African "inculturated" liturgies and Mariachi music. Allowing the old Mass thus became what one Vatican official involved in drafting *Summorum Pontificum* called an "extension of options," so that by availing himself of the old Mass under the auspices of the 2007 Motu Proprio, a priest or layman implicitly acknowledges the legitimacy of all the *other* approved options as well.

The prospect of *explicitly* doing so would make many of these priests and laymen profoundly uneasy, because as a group they tend to be of a conservative bent, people for whom the liberal mantras of choices, diversity and personal preferences produce nothing but bad karma. But in this system, one choice is as good as another.[11]

But to opt for the old rite over the new on the terms under which it is offered — sentiment, preference, heritage, wooly "sacrality," etc. — is to fall straight into an Anglican-like High Church-ism, where gorgeous ceremonial replaces faith, and distracts participants from the reality that the officially-sanctioned rite of Mass *most* of their co-religionists attend was designed to destroy large chunks of Catholic doctrine and piety.

To take the bait by reducing the issue, even implicitly, to "preference" and a "sacrality which attracts," moreover, is also to fall unwittingly into the very modernism that many enthusiasts for the Motu Proprio Masses profess to abhor. Many in this camp would no doubt applaud the eloquent argument made against the vernacular and for the traditional Latin High Mass on the grounds that:

> with all its suggestion of mystery, faith and reverence, [the old Mass] speaks more fully and directly to the spirit of man; does more for the right attuning of his soul, than could the most exquisitely balanced theological discourse on the sacrifice of the altar.

11. Once a neo-conservative or "reform of the reform" movement emerged in the 1990s and gained popularity among the younger clergy, some began to express reservations about the official liturgical reforms. Adherents engaged in a criticism of the Mass of Paul VI based, variously, on the tenets of modern philosophy, liturgico-historical theories, modernist theology, sociology, or anthropology. For an overview, see Baldovin, *Reforming the Liturgy*. None of these critiques, needless to say, treated the new rite as inimical to Catholic doctrine or as intrinsically irreverent.

A sparkling bit of prose, to be sure, for publicizing celebrations of the "Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite," as *Summorum Pontificum* has now relabeled the old Mass. But the argument is that of George Tyrrell,[12] one of the modernists whose sacramental theology St. Pius X condemned by saying, "Everything in their system is explained by inner impulses or needs."

It is a perfect illustration of how one can come to a correct practical conclusion about ritual practice (keep the Latin High Mass) for a wrong reason (individual sentiment).

## THE SCOPE OF THIS WORK

To avoid such a trap, it will be necessary to identify and evaluate the doctrinal presuppositions behind the Mass of Paul VI and their consequences, bearing in mind the principle *lex orandi, lex credendi* (the law of praying is the law of believing) — that liturgical prayer both *reflects* common beliefs and *affects* common beliefs.

Archbishop (later Cardinal) Ferdinando Antonelli, who as Secretary of the Congregation of Rites signed the 6 April 1969 decree promulgating the Mass of Paul VI, rightly noted: "In the liturgy, every word and every gesture conveys a theological idea."[13]

The consequences of this general principle are succinctly summarized by the nineteenth-century canonist Bouix in his treatise on liturgical law: Liturgy "is essentially, or of its nature, an expression of dogma,"[14] so much so that "any religious society *de facto* holds the same faith and doctrine that its liturgy clearly expresses."[15]

What theological ideas, then, do the words and gestures of the Mass of Paul VI convey? What faith and doctrine does the Mass of Paul VI express?

**1. Principal Thesis.** The principal thesis for this book is as follows:

*The Mass of Paul VI (a) destroys Catholic doctrine in the minds of the faithful, and in particular, Catholic doctrine concerning the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the priesthood, and the Real Presence; and (b) permits or prescribes grave irreverence.*

This proposition will strike many readers as rather blunt. But it summarizes the principal objections traditionalists have made against the Mass of Paul VI ever since it appeared in 1969.

The basis for part (a) of the proposition is the systematic elimination

12. *Through Scylla and Charybdis: The Old Theology and the New* (London: Longmans 1907), 34.
13. Quoted in Nicola Giampietro OFMCap, *Il Card. Ferdinando Antonelli e gli Sviluppi della Riforma Liturgica dal 1948 al 1970* (Rome: Studia Anselmiana 1998), 257.
14. D. Bouix, *Tractatus de Jure Liturgico*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Ruffet 1873), 15.
15. Bouix, 20. "Quaelibet societas religiosa de facto eam tenet fidem et doctrinam quam clare exprimit liturgia apud ipsam adhiberi solita."

from the Mass of certain Catholic doctrines that are contrary to *ecumenism* or *modernism*,[16] and the introduction, through word and gesture, of doctrinal errors which positively corrupt the faith. Some doctrines were eliminated *actually*, that is, by deletion; others were eliminated only *virtually*, that is, in effect, since only traces of them remain.

The basis for part (b) of the proposition is the alteration or elimination of prayers, ceremonial actions or liturgical laws that manifested the reverence due to, or the sacred quality inherent in, a person, place or thing connected with the celebration of Mass, and in particular, the Blessed Sacrament.

In some cases, both (a) and (b) are aggregate effects of many changes, rather than the result of one change alone. Because the average adult Catholic receives his principal religious formation almost exclusively from the Sunday Mass he attends each week — all the more so now that Mass is in the vernacular — the Mass of Paul VI is thus an engine for doctrinal revolution or an *efficacious cause* that destroys Catholic faith and Catholic piety.

A few other preliminary points about the thesis are in order here:

• By the "Mass of Paul VI" is meant: the revised rite (words and ceremonial actions) for the celebration of Mass, as prescribed, approved or permitted by the 1970 Missal of Paul VI (and subsequent editions thereof), as well as by all other Vatican legislation governing the same.

• Sometimes other common expressions will be used to refer to this rite: the New Mass, the New Order of Mass, the *Novus Ordo*, the new rite, the post-Vatican II rite, etc.

• The Latin version of the Missal of Paul VI will serve as our base text, since it is the official version and since vernacular translations often present special difficulties. Because the official English translation is rarely faithful to the official Latin text, I will in many cases use more accurate translations of my own.

• Generally speaking, liturgical "abuses" (departures from the official norms for the Mass of Paul VI) will not play a part in the discussion here. What even the official Latin version of the new Missal prescribes or permits is, as we shall see, already bad enough.

**2. Method.** To support the foregoing thesis, we will analyze in detail the Mass of Paul VI through comparison and contrast with the traditional Latin Mass.

16. Examples in the first category (ecumenism) include the notion of the Catholic Church as the one, true Church, or Catholic doctrines such as transubstantiation, the saints, propitiatory sacrifice, etc., that Protestants explicitly deny. Examples in the second category (modernism) include hell, miracles, punishment for sin, the vanity of the world, mortification and other doctrines that modernist theology effectively repudiates.

• We will sometimes use other terms for the latter as well: the old Mass, the old rite, the pre-Vatican II rite, the Mass of St. Pius V, the Tridentine Mass, etc.[17]

• The base text employed for the traditional Latin Mass will be the one contained in the Roman Missal of 1951. This antedated a series of liturgical changes in the 1950s and early 1960s that were introduced as a lead-up to the general liturgical reform.[18] This choice will not please everyone, but these changes (as their authors repeatedly emphasized) were transitional in nature. Hence, it would be problematic to use them as a starting point for comparison with the new rite, because one would no longer be comparing the old rite with the new rite, but merely two different *stages* in the creation of the new rite.[19]

• We will examine the prayers and ceremonies of the Mass of Paul VI in the order in which they occur in the rite itself. For explanations, we will often be able to turn to commentaries written by the liturgists who were directly involved in creating the New Mass.

• Since we will analyze a liturgical rite in some detail, those who are not liturgy buffs may have difficulty keeping straight some of the finer points in the discussion that follows. I have therefore included a summary at the end of each chapter. This will also be a boon for lazy reviewers.

**3. Corollaries.** In the course of proving our principal thesis, two corollaries will emerge.

(1) *The Mass of Paul VI represents a complete break or rupture with the continuous liturgical tradition that preceded it.* This will become apparent when we discuss the origins of various elements in the traditional Mass that were eliminated from the Mass of Paul VI.

(2) *The Mass of Paul VI does not in fact restore the "tradition of the Fathers," that is, the liturgical ideals and practice of the early Church.* The notion that the New Mass represented some grand restoration of primitive Christian worship was endlessly repeated during the first years of the reform. This was complete hogwash. In the creation of the New Mass, early Christian prayers and practices were in fact restored or ignored solely on the basis of whether or not they supported the ecumenical and modernist doctrinal presuppositions behind the new rite.

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17. I am aware of the difficulty that the last two expressions present, but they are commonly used in traditionalist circles.

18. See below, Chapter 3.

19. The 1962 Missal authorized by *Summorum Pontificum*, for instance, was used for barely two years.

**4. Overview.** Since the material we will treat will cover a number of different topics, it may be helpful to provide the reader with a little overview of what will be covered in the chapters that follow.

• *The Liturgical Movement.* This movement for the restoration of the Catholic liturgy, begun in the nineteenth century, went astray in the twentieth century, when modernists in its ranks laid the theoretical groundwork for the destruction of the old Mass and creation of the New Mass. Among its leading lights were Josef Jungmann, who maintained that the liturgy had become corrupt and needed to be changed to meet the perceived needs of the people, and Louis Bouyer, who embraced an ecumenical eucharistic theology of Mass as "assembly" and who proposed other "real presences" that devalued transubstantiation. Giovanni Battista Montini, who would become Paul VI, was an active supporter of the Liturgical Movement and a fan of Jungmann and Bouyer.

• *The Creation of the New Mass: 1948–1969.* The process that eventually produced the Mass of Paul VI was set in motion in 1948 with the appointment of Annibale Bugnini to a Vatican commission on liturgical reform. The commission produced a gradual series of reforms (Holy Week, the Breviary, sacred music, the rubrics, etc.) as steps in a process to prepare for a general overhaul of the liturgy. Bugnini wrote the Vatican II Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, directed its implementation and oversaw, with the full support and approval of Paul VI, the creation of the New Mass.

• *Latin to the Vernacular.* In the traditional liturgy, the use of Latin for the Mass was linked in one way or another to great doctrinal truths; abandoning Latin for the vernacular, on the other hand, was associated with corrupting Catholic doctrine. The falsified translations introduced after Vatican II were the direct result of official policy emanating from Rome.

• *The 1969 General Instruction.* This prefatory document set forth the theological principles behind the Mass of Paul VI: (1) The definition of the Mass as "assembly," rather than sacrifice. (2) Newly-fabricated "real presences" that devalue transubstantiation. (3) The error that the Mass re-presents the Last Supper, rather than the Sacrifice of the Cross. (4) The assembly as "offerer" of the Mass, and the priest as "president." (5) The deregulation of the Mass.

• *The 1970 General Instruction.* Traditionalist opposition to these errors and a critique of the New Mass presented to Paul VI by Cardinal Ottaviani led to cosmetic changes in the General Instruction when the Missal of Paul VI was published in 1970. No changes, however, were made to the new rite of Mass itself.

• *Art, Architecture, Furnishings.* The new theology behind the Mass of

Paul VI required substantial changes in the physical requirements for the celebration of Mass.

• *Introductory Rites.* Where the first part of the traditional Mass is a priestly rite of preparation, the Introductory Rites of the Mass of Paul VI reflect the modernist theology of assembly.

• *The Revised Orations.* Only 17% of the orations from the old Missal were incorporated unchanged into the Missal of Paul VI. Various themes and ideas were eliminated from the orations in order to accommodate the dictates of ecumenism or modernism: "negative" theology, the evil of the world, "souls" of the departed, the evil of heresy, the one true faith, the merits of the saints and miracles.

• *The Liturgy of the Word.* This restructured rite minimized the role of the priest. The revisers, moreover, eliminated the old cycle of scripture readings, and replaced it with a three-year cycle. The new cycle was at first portrayed as opening up to the laity more of the "treasures of God's Word." A comparison of the texts chosen with the integral text of the New Testament, however, demonstrates that the revisers eliminated, skipped, moved or made optional scriptural texts that ran afoul of ecumenism and modernism.

• *The Preparation of Gifts.* The revisers destroyed the traditional Offertory rite, detested by Protestants because of its sacrificial language, and introduced Jewish Seder prayers, leavened with an idea drawn from the writings of the modernist and pantheist Teilhard de Chardin.

• *The Eucharistic Prayer.* The revisers altered the venerable Roman Canon, abolished its silent recitation, falsified the translation of the Words of Consecration, reduced the priestly ritual gestures, introduced thirteen newly invented "Eucharistic Prayers" containing ecumenical intercessions and shallow 1960s theology, and changed the Consecration into a Protestant-style "Institution Narrative."

• *The Communion Rite.* The revisers eliminated ritual elements originally instituted to emphasize and honor the Real Presence, and introduced other elements which, taken together, are gravely irreverent.

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Having laid out as clearly as possible our contention that the issue of the old Mass or the New Mass hinges not upon preference, aesthetics or sentiment, but upon questions affecting Catholic faith and Catholic piety, we now turn to our comparison of the Mass of Paul VI and the traditional Latin Mass, bearing in mind that the sacred liturgy is indeed, as Pius XI said, "the most important organ of the ordinary magisterium of the Church."[20]

20. Audience with Bernard Cappele OSB, 12 December 1935, in Annibale Bugnini, ed., *Documenta Pontificia ad Instaurationem Liturgicam Spectantia: 1903–53* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche 1953), 70.

Chapter 2

# The Liturgical Movement: The Change Agents

After my ordination to the priesthood in 1977, I went to teach at the first seminary of the Society of St. Pius X in the United States, St. Joseph's House of Studies in Armada, Michigan, a small town northeast of Detroit. Since I had a background in church music and had been a monk for two years, Father Donald Sanborn, the rector, thought that I would be a natural choice to teach a course on the sacred liturgy. In the summer, therefore, I set about gathering materials to prepare the course.

Using a post-Vatican II textbook was out of the question. So, I settled on a pre-Vatican II work from the 1940s, Father Josef Jungmann's *Mass of the Roman Rite,* a book that the young conservative priest who had been my liturgy professor in the late 1960s had praised to the heavens. It was an impressive two-volume work, crammed with extensive references to thousands of sources. Surely, Jungmann would provide an unassailable defense of the traditional liturgy that I could impart to my students, and an arsenal of arguments for them to use against the post-Vatican II liturgy.

After a few hours reading and taking notes, though, I became uneasy. While Jungmann's work was a treasure trove of fascinating historical material, I sensed an underlying attitude of criticism towards the traditional Mass: one feature of the rite was decadent, another was a corruption, another strayed from the primitive ideal, etc. Even though Jungmann had written the work in the 1940s, the tone was one I had often heard from modernist professors intent on pushing their suspect agendas. My reactions to Jungmann, in fact, later prompted me to write my first published article.[1]

From Jungmann, I turned to a work from the 1950s that the same liturgy professor had made required reading for his course: *Liturgical Piety* by Father Louis Bouyer. Surely a good sign — a combination of liturgy and piety! But once I started reading it, I recalled the reaction I had to it some years earlier: Bouyer mocked the "pomp" and "obscurity" of the traditional liturgy. Out

1. Anthony Cekada, "The Mass Examined: Oaks and Acorns, *The Roman Catholic* I.1 (1978), 28–9. The title referred to two approaches to examining the Mass, one Catholic (the *organic* approach: accept and understand what tradition has handed down to us — appreciate the oak) and the other, modernist (the *critical* approach of men like Jungmann: complain of "accretions" and "corruptions of the liturgical spirit of Christian antiquity" — i.e., lament the oak as a corruption of the acorn).

went Bouyer, and my search continued.

I plowed through at least a dozen works on the liturgy written in the early and mid-twentieth century, and still came up with the same thing: the carping, critical treatment of the traditional liturgy, hinting at corruption and decadence, and often proposing various "reforms" that were in fact later implemented after Vatican II.

All these authors, I later learned, were followers of the "Liturgical Movement," a movement started in the mid-nineteenth century for the purpose of renewing fervor for the liturgy among the clergy and faithful.

Though its original ideals and initial accomplishments were a great blessing to the Church, modernists eventually hijacked the Liturgical Movement in the twentieth century. In fact, Josef Jungmann and Louis Bouyer were key figures in this process. Their pre-Vatican II writings not only furnished the underlying ideology for the creation of the New Mass, but also greatly influenced the ideas of Montini (later, Paul VI) on the liturgy. After Vatican II, both men would be directly involved in formulating the *Novus Ordo Missae* for Paul VI.

Since we propose to examine this rite in some detail, it will be helpful to take a brief look at its roots in the pre-Vatican II Liturgical Movement. In this chapter, we will therefore discuss:

(1) The origins of the Liturgical Movement. (2) Its initial deviations. (3) The relation between liturgical studies and modernism. (4) Mid-twentieth-century opposition to the errors of the movement. (5) Pius XII's Encyclicals *Mystici Corporis* (on the Church) and *Mediator Dei* (on the liturgy itself) which were in large part directed against these errors. (6) The progress of the movement in the 1950s. (7) The influence of the writings of Jungmann and Bouyer in setting the stage for the creation of the New Mass after Vatican II. (8) Montini and the pre-Vatican II Liturgical Movement. (9) The acknowledgement of the link between the Liturgical Movement and modernism.

## ORIGINS OF THE MOVEMENT

Dom (Father) Prosper Guéranger (1805–75), who restored Benedictine monasticism in France after the revolution, is considered the founder of the Liturgical Movement. His Abbey of Solesmes became a center for the study and promotion of the sacred liturgy.

*The Liturgical Year*, Guéranger's multi-volume commentary on the feasts and seasons of the church calendar, is a magnificent work and cannot be recommended too highly. It enjoyed enormous popularity — the father of St. Thérèse used to read it aloud to his wife and children — and it is still periodically reprinted.

Guéranger's *Liturgical Institutions* (1840) are regarded as a milestone in the history of liturgical scholarship. They are also of considerable interest to traditional Catholics because of Guéranger's denunciation of what he calls "the anti-liturgical heresy" — the hostility that all heresies show towards the traditional Catholic liturgy by trying to change it to achieve their own ends.[2] The anti-liturgical heresy, Guéranger says, promotes a hatred for tradition, the selective use of Scripture, the invention of new formulas, contradictory principles, false appeals to antiquity, hatred for the mystical, replacing the altar with a table, use of the vernacular, reducing the length of services and undermining the priesthood.[3] All this, of course, sounds like a traditionalist indictment of the post-Vatican II liturgical reforms.

In its earlier years, the Liturgical Movement achieved remarkable successes throughout the Church in promoting liturgical scholarship, Gregorian chant, sacred music and the solemn performance of the Church's liturgical rites. As a young priest, a bishop, and then Patriarch of Venice, St. Pius X (1903–14), had followed developments in the Liturgical Movement very closely; as pope he would put into practice many of its noble ideals, particularly in the field of sacred music.

## THE MOVEMENT TAKES A WRONG TURN

In the early twentieth century, however, the movement took a wrong turn. Some of its more prominent supporters began to advocate suspect theological ideas, and eventually, radical liturgical reforms that would foreshadow the post-Vatican II changes.

Father Didier Bonneterre has already provided an excellent and concise history of this period in his book *The Liturgical Movement: Guéranger to Beauduin to Bugnini*.[4] There we learn:

• Dom Lambert Beauduin (1884–1960) first used the liturgy as a means to form the laity for social action, and then as a tool to promote ecumenism. His ecumenical initiatives were condemned in the 1928 Encyclical *Mortalium Animos*, but he continued to promote his ideas through priests' retreats (conducted in secret for those "in agreement with his ideas"), through publications and through a liturgical studies center. Beauduin was a friend of Angelo Roncalli (later John XXIII), and during his own final illness after the death of Pius XII predicted:

2. Thus J. Vaquié ed., in *Institutions Liturgiques: Extraits* (Chiré-en-Montreuil [France]: Diffusion de la Pensée Française 1977), 103.

3. IL 1:397–405. For a translation, see "The Anti-Liturgical Movement," *The Roman Catholic* II.3 (May 1980), 9–13.

4. (Kansas City: Angelus Press 2002), originally published as *Le Mouvement Liturgique de Dom Guéranger à Annibal Bugnini* (Escurolles, France: Editions Fideliter 1980).

> "If they elect Roncalli, all will be saved. He will be capable of calling a Council and canonizing ecumenism... I believe we have a good chance. Most of the cardinals are not sure what to do. They are capable of voting for him."[5]

• In 1918, Dom Ildefons Herwegen (1874–1946), Abbot of Maria Laach, founded a liturgical publication aimed at recruiting a liturgical "elite." He and his disciple Dom Odo Casel maintained that the liturgy had become encumbered by fantastic medieval interpretations and an excessive emphasis on the Real Presence. He advocated an "antiquarianism" or "archaeologism" (re-introducing primitive Christian liturgical forms) that manifested a contempt for the Tridentine liturgy.

• The best-selling author of *The Spirit of the Liturgy* and Catholic youth movement leader Romano Guardini (1885–1968), was ordained in 1910 during the height of the modernist crisis and spoke of "the frequent sin of orthodoxy." An underlying current of modernism runs through Guardini's work that can be seen in passages such as the following: "We do not possess, we seek... we cannot here state anything definite, anything absolutely assured and possessed, but only attempts, sometimes mere groping and presentiments."[6]

• Pius Parsch (1884–1954) conducted liturgical "experiments" at a chapel on the grounds of his monastery in Klosterneuberg, Austria. Mass was celebrated facing the people, the Ordinary was sung in German, and a handshake was used to convey the Pax (sign of peace) — in the 1920s!

• Beginning in the 1920s, members of the Liturgical Movement working with youth movements in Germany and France (scouting, young farmers, etc.) engaged in various liturgical experiments: dialogue Masses (at which all present make the response), offertory processions, and grouping the boys around the altar for Mass.

Not everyone who supported the Liturgical Movement, to be sure, went off in these directions. Some continued to follow its original ideals, and to produce much that was excellent, even up to the eve of Vatican II.

Be that as it may, Bonneterre's summary of the state of affairs in the movement before World War II seems, alas, to be accurate:

> The period between the wars saw the growth of the most serious theological deviations of the Liturgical Movement. Dom Beauduin is dragging it on to the paths of a false ecumenism, Maria Laach is misleading it into archaeologism, Dom Parsch is making common cause with a judaizing biblicism. On the eve of the Second World War, the forces of modernism hold the

5. Louis Bouyer, *Dom Lambert Beauduin*, quoted in Bonneterre, 78.
6. Quoted in Bonneterre, 27.

movement in their hands. And as for Rome, which under St. Pius X had so effectively broken the onslaught of theological modernism, did she not relax her vigilance too much in those years 1930–39, and particularly in the domain, then too little considered, of the liturgy?[7]

## LITURGICAL STUDIES AND MODERNISM

How could something like this have happened? St. Pius X acted forcefully — indeed ruthlessly — to crush the modernist heretics. Yet thirty years later, they seem to have subverted a movement that he himself supported. And why were modernists attracted to the liturgy as a field for their study and operations? Here are a few possible reasons:

(1) The canonical strictures that St. Pius X directed against modernism primarily affected the teaching of dogmatic theology, scripture, philosophy and church history.

For liturgy, however, the fort was left unguarded, because the typical priest or bishop in the early decades of the twentieth century equated the study of liturgy with the study of *rubrics* — the mechanics of how to offer Mass or recite the Divine Office. A modernist teaching rubrics? Might as well worry about modernism in the seminary plumber...

So a cleric with modernist tendencies who had been assigned to teach liturgy could easily slip in under the radar screen, and devote his courses to teaching about the doctrinal or ascetical *content* of the liturgical texts and rites.

(2) Because of the great number of liturgical texts from various eras available to him, the study of liturgy would provide for the modernist a vast, camouflaged playground to subject to his historical-critical apparatus, and he could operate there with little fear of detection. Steely-eyed Dominican dogmatic theologians are unlikely to go sniffing for modernist monkey business in recondite discussions about the relationship between, say, Gnosticism and reconstructed third-century anaphoras.

Thus the liturgical historian Edmund Bishop (1846–1917), whose highly influential 1899 essay "The Genius of the Roman Rite" is considered a classic, admitted in private correspondence, "I am an irredeemable modernist." But this fact went unrecognized for more than forty years after his death.[8]

(3) The modernist views dogma as something that arises out of the individual's religious sentiment or experience. Since the liturgy is full of symbols and "experiences," these, for the modernist, affect the evolution of dogmas. Thus, George Tyrrell (1861–1909) appropriated the expression *lex orandi* or the "law of praying" in his heretical theory on the evolution of dogma — the

7. Ibid. 31–2.

8. See Alec Vidler, *A Variety of Catholic Modernists* (Cambridge: University Press 1970), 134–52.

*lex credendi* or the "law of believing."[9]

(4) A modernist who is inclined toward ecumenical initiatives can sometimes enlist liturgy in the cause. The sentiments and experiences it provides can be allowed to substitute for faith (holding a truth as absolutely certain because God revealed it) and to draw attention away from dogmatic differences or inconsistencies. The latter can be ignored or set aside because, in the modernist system, dogma evolves anyway.

Thus, for example, one could mount elaborate liturgical ceremonies that follow all the rubrical prescriptions of the Roman Rite, while at the same time actually believing few or even none of the Catholic doctrines that those rites express — a phenomenon that one regularly encountered in ritualistic, High Church Anglican circles.

(5) Pius XI spoke eloquently of the power of the liturgy to "affect both mind and heart, and have a salutary effect upon the whole of man's nature."[10] The modernists, perhaps more than any previous would-be religious reformers, recognized this innate and profound power that the liturgy possesses, because religious sentiment and experience form one of the foundations of their system. If the liturgy (the *lex orandi*) can be changed in such a way as to reflect "enlightened" modernist ideology, the religious experience of the believer will change, and with it, what he believes (the *lex credendi*). Thus will dogma progress and evolve.

## OPPOSITION TO THE MOVEMENT

Eventually, however, the errors and deviations in the Liturgical Movement drew some vocal opposition, especially in Germany where two books were published denouncing it. In 1939, the pro-movement faction designated the Bishop of Passau, Simon Landesdorfer, as its spokesman. The following year, the German Bishops' Assembly set up a committee to deal with the controversy, and Bishop Landesdorfer was appointed to it. Thus within one year, says Bonneterre, "the German Episcopal Assembly was in the hands of the 'renewal.'"[11]

But the opposition did not give up. In late 1942, Archbishop Conrad Groeber of Freiburg, Germany circulated a 17-point memorandum among the German bishops about the dangers and excesses of the Liturgical Move-

9. "'God's Fatherhood and man's brotherhood in Christ'— a simple conception, a simple sentiment; yes, but that growth of the conception given us in the Catholic creed springs from and furthers a corresponding growth in the richness and fullness of the sentiment: *Lex orandi, lex credendi.*" George Tyrrell SJ, *Lex Orandi, or Prayer and Creed* (London: Longmans 1904), 216.
10. Encyclical *Quas Primas*, 11 December 1925, PTL 357.
11. *Liturgical Movement*, 39–40.

ment.[12] Those of Groeber's criticisms pertaining specifically to liturgical practices that the movement advocated in the 1940s will ring a bell for post-Vatican II traditionalists:

- Advocating the vernacular, which "has often served the forces of error as a weapon in the arsenal of heresy."
- Insistence on vocal participation by the laity at Mass.
- Disparagement of private Masses and devotional prayers (the Rosary, Stations, etc.).
- Arbitrary changes in the rubrics.
- Advocating Communion under both species.

The theological errors that members of the movement offered to justify these practices will also sound familiar:

- Promoting the notion that "it is the community which celebrates," and reducing the role of the priest to one "delegated by the parish to celebrate Mass."
- Exaggeration of the priesthood of the laity.

Even more significant, though, are the broader theological deviations that Archbishop Groeber accused the movement of promoting. First, elements of false ecumenism:

- Growing influence of Protestant dogma on the way the faith is presented.
- Extending the limits of the Church to include Protestants; considering heretical churches part of the Church.

Finally, Groeber's memorandum points out ideas and tendencies in the Liturgical Movement that are characteristic of the modernists and their teachings that had been condemned thirty years before by St. Pius X:

- Giving a new definition to faith; it is no longer belief in revealed truths, but an experience, an emotion.
- Neglect of dogmatic and systematic theology.
- Neglect of scholastic philosophy and theology; preference for modern systems, Hegel, etc.
- Placing undue emphasis on forms of religious life in the primitive Church.

12. For the text, see Richstatter, *Liturgical Law*, 2–4.

## THE HOLY SEE INTERVENES

When word of Groeber's memorandum reached Rome, the Holy See made known its concern about the Liturgical Movement. It requested additional information on the question, appealed for vigilance by the Ordinaries, forbade discussion of the subject, and indicated its willingness to consider granting certain privileges for the good of souls. For their part, the German bishops maneuvered to protect the movement, and if possible, avoid further interventions.[13]

Nevertheless, the first major intervention came in 1943 with the Encyclical *Mystici Corporis*, which set forth Catholic teaching on membership in the Church. We find the following passage, which seems a clear reproof to those members of the Liturgical Movement who, in the words of Groeber's memorandum, "extended the limits of the Church to include Protestants."

> Only those are to be numbered among the members of the Church who have received the laver of regeneration and profess the true faith, and have not, to their misfortune, separated themselves from the structure of the Body... those who are divided from one another in faith or in government cannot live in the unity of such a body, and in its one divine spirit.[14]

This was shortly followed by a letter from the Secretariat of State to Cardinal Bertram that warned against "aberrant novelties in liturgical matters" threatening church discipline and the faith in Germany, liturgical abuses in Masses offered for youth groups, and "errors" to be vigilantly uprooted.[15]

The leaders of the movement, however, would not necessarily view shots across the bow like these as permanent obstacles to their long-term plans.

In 1945, the old ecumenist Dom Beauduin re-emerged to outline his program for the Liturgical Movement: it should look to the Holy See, proceed patiently and hierarchically, predispose people's spirit to receive these changes, promote small changes first, appeal to scholarship to support its proposals, exercise indirect pressure on the hierarchy, and involve publishing houses in promoting the movement.[16] Bonneterre quotes passages from Beauduin's article and characterizes it as "a well studied method of subversion... unparalleled in its cynicism."[17]

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13. Bonneterre, 42–3.
14. Pius XII, Encyclical *Mystici Corporis*, 29 June 1943, DZ 2286.
15. Secretariat of State, Epistle to A. Cardinal Bertram, 24 December 1943, in Bugnini, *Documenta*, 81. "pericula quae sive disciplinae sive Ecclesiae vitae in Germania ipsique fidei imminere possint si a singulis 'via facti' uti aiunt in rem liturgicam aberrantes inducantur novitates... novitates privatorum auctoritate... errores..."
16. Bonneterre, 47–9.
17. Ibid. 48.

At the same time, prelates in the German and French hierarchies who were sympathetic to the movement (Cardinals Bertram and Suhard) were asked to obtain various concessions from Rome on grounds of "pastoral needs"[18] — a theme that will be sounded frequently in the following years.

In 1946, the German and French branches of the Liturgical Movement joined forces to promote their common goals. One of the priests involved, Father P. Duployé, mentioned in passing:

> We also made contact with the representatives of the various Christian churches. Dom Beauduin taught us, now and always, not to disassociate ecumenism from the liturgy.[19]

And indeed, the authors of the definitive (1600-page) biography of Beauduin gave it the title *A Pioneer: Dom Lambert Beauduin: Liturgy and the Unity of Christians.*[20]

The connection between liturgical change and ecumenism will emerge as another recurring theme as the movement continues on its course.

## THE ENCYCLICAL *MEDIATOR DEI*

The second intervention of the Holy See in response to Archbishop Groeber's memorandum came on 20 November 1947, when Pius XII promulgated his Encyclical *Mediator Dei*, a magnificent treatise setting forth the Catholic teaching on the sacred liturgy. The pontiff's aim was to keep what was good in the Liturgical Movement (and there was indeed much of this), but to condemn its deviations.

**1. Contents.** *Mediator Dei* is one of the longest papal pronouncements ever issued. We can only hope to give the briefest of summaries here:

(1) *The Nature of Liturgy:* (a) *Liturgy as public worship:* There must be a balance between public and private prayer. Man's fundamental duty is to orient himself towards God. The action of Christ is continued by the Church. The Eucharist is the sacrifice by which we are saved from sin. (b) *As external and internal worship*: Private devotion is not to be denigrated. (c) *Liturgy is subject to the hierarchy*: One must obey liturgical law. The priest is set apart from the faithful at Mass. The liturgy is intimately bound up with doctrine. The Church safeguards the liturgy with her authority and laws. There is an interrelationship between doctrine, discipline and ceremonies, because the Church has the authority to teach, rule and sanctify. A priest must follow the rubrics.

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18. Ibid. 49–50.

19. *Les Origines du CPL*, 308, quoted in Bonneterre, 50.

20. Raymond Loonbeek and Jacques Mortiau, *Un Pionnier: Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873–1960): Liturgie et Unité des Chretiens* (Louvain: Editions de Chevetogne 2001), 2 vols.

Latin is an effective weapon against corruption of doctrinal truth. Vernacular may be used in connection with certain rites. The primitive Church must not be looked upon as the golden era. (The error of "antiquarianism" or "archaeologism.")

(2) *Eucharistic Worship.* (a) *The Mass.* It is a true and proper act of sacrifice. The Mass is a public and social act whether faithful are present or not. (b) *Condemned*: A false notion of "active participation." The "meal" concept of the Mass. Insistence that the faithful *must* receive Communion. An improper understanding of priesthood of the faithful. (c) *Means of participation.* Use of the Missal. Dialogue Mass, though this is not necessary to "give the Mass a social character." Sung Mass is the ideal. Private devotions: Meditation, prayers, exercises of piety, Rosary. (d) *Holy Communion.* It is sufficient for the priest alone to receive. Condemned: Communion of the faithful is the "culmination of the Mass." The practice of spiritual communion is praised.

(3) *The Divine Office.* This is praised as the sanctification of the day and as the official prayer of the Church.

(4) *Pastoral Directives.* Non-liturgical devotions are recommended. Sacramental confession is important. The liturgy should be promoted in retreats. One must obey the laws of the Church. The use of sacred images must be promoted. Gregorian chant is encouraged. Modern art is also encouraged. Bishops must maintain vigilance against errors.

**2. Analysis.** Now, apart from a few concessions (the Dialogue Mass, a mention of "adaptation to temporal circumstances," and approval of modern art), *Mediator Dei* seems to be *the* definitive condemnation of the errors of the Liturgical Movement: universal vernacularism, liturgical experimentation, disdain for devotions, archaeologism, false notions of participation, errors about a lay priesthood, and much more. The encyclical recapitulates and then develops in great detail the traditional Catholic teaching on the liturgy set forth in the Council of Trent and the Code of Canon Law.

Underlying the whole encyclical, moreover, is the classic pre-Vatican II view of the Sacred Liturgy in terms of the triple formula "doctrine-discipline-ceremonies" or "creed-code-cult." Christ and the Church have the same object, office and duty: to teach men the truth (doctrine), to govern and direct them (discipline), and to offer to God the pleasing and acceptable sacrifice (ceremonies).[21] These three objects the encyclical treats as one and inseparable.

Since the liturgy is thus intimately bound up with doctrinal propositions, just as it is the duty of the Church to safeguard doctrine, so it is the duty of

21. Richstatter, 6.

the Church hierarchy to safeguard doctrine and regulate the liturgy.[22]

On the face of it, therefore, *Mediator Dei* was a decisive and final intervention against the crypto-modernist deviations of the Liturgical Movement that Archbishop Groeber warned of in his 1942 memorandum. The Holy See has laid down the correct principles, taken the matter into hand, and will henceforth steer all matters liturgical along the straight and safe path.

## THE MOVEMENT IN THE 1950s

Thus, the theory in *Mediator Dei*. But the progressive wing of the Liturgical Movement continued to push its agenda just as before. Indeed, it went from victory to victory, beginning in 1948, through the 1950s, and right up to the eve of Vatican II.

During these years, the movement had many influential friends in high places, among them, Mgr. Angelo Roncalli (at this time, Nuncio to France, then Cardinal-Patriarch of Venice), Agostino Bea SJ (confessor to Pius XII, later Cardinal, and a leading ecumenist at Vatican II), and Mgr. Giovanni Battista Montini (Paul VI). It employed liberal bishops to petition Rome for various changes and concessions, and flattered and cultivated others,[23] while at the same time promoting its goals through historical research, publications, summer schools, and congresses.

In France, its supporters were heavily involved in the Catholic Action movement. The French Bishops' Conference published a liturgical directory incorporating the movement's proposals, and authorized the founding, in 1956, of the "Institut Supérieur de Liturgie de Paris." In Germany, the movement obtained Vatican approval for the "German High Mass," a mish-mash of Latin and vernacular. In Italy, the writings of the French progressives were translated, and among the supporters in the hierarchy there, in addition to Montini, the movement numbered Giacomo Lercaro, the Archbishop of Bologna. In the United States, the Benedictines of Collegeville and their publication *Orate Fratres* (later *Worship*), edited by Father Hans Reinhold, were in the forefront of the movement, as was the liturgical studies center at Notre

22. Richstatter, 11.

23. The Jesuit Gerard Ellard's books feature photos of some American "brick-and-mortar" bishops who are fawned over for supposedly heightened liturgical sensibilities. The most amusing example: Archbishop Richard Cushing of Boston. He didn't understand Latin, so at Vatican II, he offered to bankroll a simultaneous translation service for the Council — leading an amused European prelate to suggest that Cushing might also want to pay for installing air conditioning in hell. The writer Thomas Day later said that Cushing "confounded many non-Catholics when they watched him honk his way through a ceremony; [he] always sounded like someone selling peanuts and popcorn at a baseball game." One got the impression that, like a Solemn High Mass celebrated by Jesuits, any liturgical rite performed by Cushing was considered a success if no one got hurt.

Dame University in Indiana.[24]

In September 1956, an International Congress on Pastoral Liturgy was held in Assisi. Prelates, clergy and liturgists from all over the world were present. What we have come to recognize as the "left" of the Liturgical Movement was well represented among the sixteen speakers to address the gathering.

At the end of the Congress, participants went to Rome, where Pius XII delivered a final allocution. He began with words of praise for the movement that include the following:

> The Liturgical Movement appeared as a sign of God's providential dispositions for the present day, as a movement of the Holy Spirit in His Church, intended to bring men closer to those mysteries of the faith and treasures of grace which derive from the active participation of the faithful in the liturgical life.[25]

These words, Bonneterre observed, would have been appropriate in 1920, but were no longer so in 1956.[26]

And indeed, from the rest of his speech, it is clear that Pius XII realized all was not well. He reiterated the teachings of *Mediator Dei* on the intimate connection between liturgy and doctrine, the importance of liturgical law, the need to avoid errors about the priesthood of the laity, and the importance of the doctrine of transubstantiation. He also warned about theological errors concerning the Real Presence, and the danger of separating the tabernacle from the altar where Mass is offered. He concluded by mentioning his desire to "keep Our vigilance on the alert," for "it is also Our duty to forestall whatever might be a source of error or danger."[27]

But all this would be swept aside, because (as we shall see in the next chapter) the very persons that the Holy See looked to in order to apply the teaching of *Mediator Dei* had already since 1948 been taking the liturgy in another direction entirely. We have met the enemy — and we are theirs.

Before we tell that part of our story, however, we must devote the greater part of this chapter to Fathers Josef Jungmann and Louis Bouyer, the two intellectuals in the Liturgical Movement whose ideas both prepared the way for the liturgical reforms of Vatican II and then directly influenced the shape of the New Order of Mass itself. And we must also say a few words about the man who would promulgate it.

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24. See Bonneterre, 66–70.

25. Pius XII, "Sacred Liturgy and Pastoral Action," Allocution to the International Congress on Pastoral Liturgy, 22 September 1956, PTL 793.

26. Bonneterre, 70.

27. "Sacred Liturgy and Pastoral Action," PTL 822.

## JOSEF A. JUNGMANN SJ

In 1948 we meet the principal theoretician behind the liturgical revolution — indeed, its intellectual powerhouse — Josef Andreas Jungmann SJ (1889–1975).

Jungmann was ordained a diocesan priest, entered the Jesuits, and taught pastoral theology, catechetics and liturgy at the University of Innsbruck from 1925–38 and 1945–63. The Nazi occupation of Austria resulted in the closing of the Jesuit college, so Jungmann resolved to use his free time to write a work explaining the Mass, the subject of much of his previous research, teaching and writing. He spent 1939–42 amassing a vast amount of research material on the sources, history and development of the prayers and ceremonies of the Mass, and in 1942, retired to the countryside to serve as a convent chaplain, a post that would allow him the free time to write his work.

The result, published in 1948, was Jungmann's two-volume, 1000-page work, *Missarum Sollemnia*, known in English as *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*. It is a scholarly tour de force, with thickets of footnotes in tiny type, marshalling thousands of reference sources to advance the author's arguments.

The book was received with wide acclaim, and thereafter established Jungmann as *the* premier authority on matters liturgical, accorded immense authority by his contemporaries.[28] The left of the Liturgical Movement was ecstatic. Hans Reinhold, editor of *Orate Fratres*, saw *Mass of the Roman Rite* not merely as a historical work, but as one that could be used to advance proposals for future liturgical changes:

> This book is an event! ... [T]here seems to be a great desire all over the world not only to get a better understanding [of the Mass], but also to raise claims for adaptation, as all periods have seen them. It is good to know whether or not such claims can be justified in the light of a sound tradition.[29]

Indeed, the liturgist Balthasar Fischer said that Jungmann's *Mass of the Roman Rite*, probably more than any other book "prepared the way for the conciliar reform of the Liturgy."[30] The book was "magisterial," and "provided a scientific apparatus for future liturgical reform,"[31] in which Jungmann (as we shall see in the next chapter) will immediately have an opportunity to apply

28. See Alcuin Reid OSB, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Ignatius 2005), 164–5.

29. H.A. Reinhold, "Missarum Solemnia," *Orate Fratres* 23 (1948–9), 126.

30. Quoted in Reid, 165n.

31. Kathleen Hughes RSCJ, "Meticulous Scholarship at the Service of a Living Liturgy," in Joanne M. Pierce and Michael Downey, editors, *Source and Summit: Commemorating Josef A. Jungmann SJ* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 1999), 21.

his theories.

Two interrelated themes that Jungmann developed in his writings and lectures would have enormous influence on the course of the liturgical revolution as it slowly unfolded: (1) his "corruption theory," which held that the Mass as it stood represented a departure from primitive liturgical ideals, and (2) "pastoral liturgy," which advocated re-fashioning the Mass to meet the needs of contemporary man. It will therefore be worthwhile to take a closer look at both ideas.

**1. Jungmann's Corruption Theory.** For Jungmann, the primitive era of the Church's liturgy was the golden age, and most of the embellishments made to the Mass after the Peace of Constantine (313), especially those of the medieval and baroque periods, corrupted this ideal.

During this primitive era of the liturgy, according to Jungmann, "Christianity flourished and was vitally alive — because the great truths of Christianity were learned and were a living experience in the liturgy."[32] The liturgy then was "essentially *corporate worship*... [with] a close connection between altar and people, a fact constantly confirmed by greeting and response, address and assent."[33]

Five hundred years later in the Carolingian era (ca. 800), this was changed. The priest, says Jungmann:

> consciously detaches himself from the congregation when the sacrifice proper begins, while the people only follow from a distance the external and visible action of the celebration in terms of its symbolic meaning.[34]

Jungmann maintained that this change came about because of the Church's two-century battle with Arianism (the heresy that denies the divinity of Our Lord) among the Teutonic peoples in Spain and Gaul. Beginning in the sixth century, he says, this prompted the introduction of anti-Arian formulas and concepts into the liturgy, and everything eventually went downhill from there.

Here, taken from his highly influential 1947 article on the topic, is a sampler of Jungmann's indictment of the resulting liturgical corruptions that occurred over the following millennium, during the medieval period:

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32. "The Pastoral Idea in the History of the Liturgy," in *The Assisi Papers: Proceedings from the First International Congress of Pastoral Liturgy, Assisi-Rome, September 18–22, 1956*, published as a supplement to *Worship* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 1957), 25.

33. "The Defeat of Teutonic Arianism and the Revolution in Religious Culture in the Early Middle Ages," in *Pastoral Liturgy* (London: Challoner 1962), 2. This is a revised and updated version of the original article, which first appeared in *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 69 (1947), 36–99.

34. Ibid. 2–3.

> the corporate character of public worship, so meaningful for early Christianity, begins to crumble at its foundations... [forms of Eucharistic piety] represented a deviation from the original meaning of the Sacrament... [liturgical life existed] in a mass-produced and decadent form... A more or less broad gulf separated clergy and laity... The people were devout and came to worship: but even when they were present at worship, it was still clerical worship.... [The Mass] was not a people's service in the old sense. At it the people were not much more than spectators... a growing estrangement from the people... Indeed, we might well say that it had become a lifeless civil act... [On the eve of the Reformation] there was a mighty façade, and behind it great emptiness. The liturgy is no longer understood in its sacramental depth.[35]

To Jungmann's way of thinking the post-Tridentine, Baroque era fared no better:

> [F]estivity becomes the chief characteristic of church worship, a festivity in which the bulk of the people do not take part, but rather have something presented to them...[36]

> Correspondingly, in the Eucharist, scarcely any attention is now paid to sacramental preparation for our Lord's sacrificial self-offering, a preparation effected through the interchange between priest and people, by reading, prayer, praise and thanksgiving, which is designed to create unity amongst the [holy people.] Instead, attention is concentrated exclusively on the Real Presence. This is the specific source of life for Baroque piety. The measure in which the sacramental Presence becomes central, is also the measure in which truly sacramental thinking fades out.[37]

Though Jungmann concedes elsewhere that other elements in the liturgy which developed subsequently "in the same way as the original, or in a similar way... are derived from the inspiration and activity of the Holy Spirit,"[38] this emphasis on the Real Presence, he maintained, corrupted and obscured the ideal, and:

> [S]omething like a Fog Curtain settled between and separated liturgy and people, through which the faithful could only dimly recognize what was happening at the altar... The most important means of the soul's ascent to God, the word of the liturgy itself, had become inaccessible to the people.[39]

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35. Ibid. 60, 63, 66, 66, 67, 67, 68, 69, 78.
36. Ibid. 82.
37. Ibid. 88.
38. *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great* (South Bend IN: University of Notre Dame Press 1959), 4–5.
39. "Pastoral Idea," 29–30.

And by the twentieth century, though the Mass in its essentials was the same building in which Christians were already living ten, fifteen or even eighteen centuries ago:

> the structure has become more and more complicated, with constant remodeling and additions, and so the plan of the building has become obscured — so much so that we may no longer feel quite at home in it because we no longer understand it.[40]

The effect upon the liturgy of the fourth- and fifth-century battle against Arianism was, then, the original sin that led to a 1500-year period of corruption. So, the Fog Curtain descended.

**2. Jungmann and "Pastoral Liturgy."** This state of affairs, in turn, becomes "the chief cause for the loss of pastoral liturgy,"[41] the second main theme Jungmann would sound throughout his work.

Now, what exactly, is meant by *pastoral* liturgy? Dom Alcuin Reid distinguishes two senses of the term:

(1) *The people are enabled to understand and penetrate the richness of objective liturgical tradition.* The people's liturgical appetites are "elevated."

(2) *Objective liturgical tradition is altered to suit the perceived needs of the people so that its rites "speak to them."* The liturgy is reduced and restricted to what reformers think people will grasp immediately.[42]

Since those of us who suffered through the era immediately following Vatican II will think of *pastoral* as a generic modernist buzzword,[43] we will need to expand a bit on Reid's distinction.

The first sense of *pastoral* respects the nature of the Catholic liturgy. The purpose of the liturgy is, first and foremost, the *worship of God.*

The good pastor takes the traditional liturgy as it is, performs it correctly and as solemnly as possible, explains it to his flock (in sermons and articles), promotes various modes of participation in it for his faithful (serving, choir, congregational singing, church decoration, use of the missal, children's Masses, participation in various blessing rites), and generally, regards whatever he must do for the sacred liturgy as the primary function of his priestly apostolate. All this, obviously, is praiseworthy, and indeed, *pastoral liturgy* in this

40. *Early Liturgy*, 2.

41. K. Hughes, 27.

42. *Organic Development*, 227–9. See also 305–6.

43. A "pastoral" bishop tolerated heresy, utterly crazy liturgical abuses, "proportionalist" moral theology, and, above all, the promotion of the idea that contraception was not sinful. In the United States, at least, church historians may one day find a statistical correlation between a Vatican II-era bishop's perceived "pastoral" qualities and the dollar amounts his diocese later paid out in legal settlements. Whenever someone appeals to *pastoral*, I reach for my pistol...

sense should be the priestly ideal.

The second sense of *pastoral,* however — altering the liturgy to suit perceived needs of the people — is the sense in which Jungmann uses it. Here, the primary purpose of the liturgy is *care of the people.*

Thus, Jungmann entitles one of his essays "Pastoral Care — Key to the History of the Liturgy."[44] Having tipped his biretta to the idea that "the liturgy is the life of the Church as it is turned towards God," he says that the multiplicity of forms in the liturgy is explained by "the care of the hierarchy for the Church as the community of the faithful... This care was decisive in the shaping of public worship. It accounts for everything."[45]

Note the word — *everything.* Care of the people is the lens through which one must view the history of the liturgy, and it is the standard against which everything in the liturgy must be measured. Thus Jungmann says:

> The liturgy would take them further [than appearing before God], it would lead the faithful to full consciousness of their Christianity... We can understand therefore, how for centuries a Christian pastoral care was possible [which] allowed a flourishing Christianity to live — because the great truths of Christianity were kept alive in and through the liturgy... The liturgy was designed to be a guide of the faithful to Christian prayer... For centuries, the liturgy, actively celebrated, has been the most important form of pastoral care. This was especially true of those centuries in which the liturgy was being created.[46]

And after all this, of course, it is inevitable that Jungmann sounds the theme of the corruption theory, and finally, laments a liturgy that has become "rigid."[47]

So, *pastoral liturgy* in this second sense is liturgy that is "flexible," rather than "rigid," because its primary purpose is *care of the people.* Hence, the liturgy may — indeed must — accommodate itself to the perceived needs of the people, because in our own day:

> the faithful in an especial manner need that same guidance by the liturgy which was the privileged lot of the Christians of the first centuries. Today the rigidity is beginning to lessen.[48]

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44. In *Pastoral Liturgy,* 368–81.
45. "Pastoral Care," 369.
46. "Pastoral Care," 373, 375–6, 377, 380.
47. "Pastoral Care," 380. "[A] veil became drawn between the liturgy and the people, a veil through which the faithful could only dimly see what was happening at the altar... The greatest of all vehicles of the soul's ascent to God, the words of the liturgy became inaccessible to the people. The prayers and chants through which the sacred action worked itself out became but sounds which touched only the outward ear. The liturgy became a mere sequence of mysterious words and ceremonies which had to be performed in accordance with set rules, while the people followed in holy awe. In the end, the liturgy itself became rigid."
48. "Pastoral Idea," 30.

In the first sense of *pastoral*, liturgy "adapts" the people to the liturgy; in the second, the liturgy adapts to the people.

**3. Analysis.** What are the consequences of these two ideas?

(1) Jungmann's corruption theory is a version of liturgical *antiquarianism* (or archaeologism). Archbishop Groeber sounded the alarm about this error in his 1942 memorandum, and Pius XII duly condemned it in *Mediator Dei*.[49]

Antiquarianism boils down to this: there's no liturgy like old liturgy — *really* old liturgy, preferably from the first four centuries, and surely nothing after St. Gregory the Great (+604). Antiquarians like Jungmann get out their historical-critical apparatus, engage in the comparative analysis of whatever ancient liturgical texts happen to have survived, and then decide which historical period represents *the* golden era for the liturgy. Liturgical developments that follow (medieval and post-Tridentine) then become corruption and encroaching fog.

The practical conclusion the antiquarian means us to draw is this: cut away from the Mass whatever the Church later added to the idealized primitive liturgical form that the antiquarian has designated. Then you get authentic liturgy.

(2) The corruption theory is a powerful tool for advancing the modernist theological agenda. Fifteen hundred years of Catholic doctrine expressed in liturgical prayers can be waived away by offering the pretext that, well, the later texts, alas and alack, poetic and mystical though they be, depart from what is the *true* primitive liturgical ideal in the year... (fill in the blank).

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49. Especially the following passages: "61. The same reasoning holds in the case of some persons who are bent on the restoration of all the ancient rites and ceremonies indiscriminately. The liturgy of the early ages is most certainly worthy of all veneration. But ancient usage must not be esteemed more suitable and proper, either in its own right or in its significance for later times and new situations, on the simple ground that it carries the savor and aroma of antiquity. The more recent liturgical rites likewise deserve reverence and respect. They, too, owe their inspiration to the Holy Spirit, who assists the Church in every age even to the consummation of the world... 62. Assuredly it is a wise and most laudable thing to return in spirit and affection to the sources of the sacred liturgy... But it is neither wise nor laudable to reduce everything to antiquity by every possible device...63. Just as obviously unwise and mistaken is the zeal of one who in matters liturgical would go back to the rites and usage of antiquity, discarding the new patterns introduced by disposition of divine Providence to meet the changes of circumstances and situation. 64. This way of acting bids fair to revive the exaggerated and senseless antiquarianism to which the illegal Council of Pistoia gave rise. It likewise attempts to reinstate a series of errors which were responsible for the calling of that meeting as well as for those resulting from it, with grievous harm to souls, and which the Church, the ever watchful guardian of the 'deposit of faith' committed to her charge by her divine Founder, had every right and reason to condemn. For perverse designs and ventures of this sort tend to paralyze and weaken that process of sanctification by which the sacred liturgy directs the sons of adoption to their Heavenly Father of their souls' salvation."

(3) Jungmann's vision of "pastoral liturgy" translates into liturgical *didacticism* or *pedagogy*. Early Christians, he says, learned most of their faith from the liturgy; care for the flock shaped the liturgy, rather than the reverse; this liturgy led them to full consciousness of the faith; the liturgy was flexible, rather than rigid, in responding to their needs.

So, the practical conclusion we are meant to draw is that the Mass must be *didactic, teach* the faithful, become a sort of classroom to impart religious truths, because "they need that same guidance" that the early Christians had. And that can only be accomplished if the liturgy loses its "rigidity."

This necessarily brings with it the use of the vernacular (how can the laity be properly instructed in Latin?), the abolition of complex or highly mystical ceremonies (too hard for the teacher to explain) and the creation of new texts and rites better adapted to the real needs of modern man (classroom methods must conform to the mentality of the students).

(4) From the foregoing we can start to see how Jungmann's corruption theory and his concept of "pastoral liturgy" are contradictory principles: (a) *restore* the liturgy to its ancient, pre-corrupt ideal; (b) *adapt* the liturgy to perceived modern needs. One theory or the other may therefore be invoked in order to justify or exclude just about any liturgical change imaginable.

And this is just what will happen after Vatican II. Communion in the hand (we will be told) restores a primitive practice, *but* allowing women to proclaim Scripture readings at Mass (forbidden by the ancient discipline) is justified by pastoral needs. Allowing a Saturday-evening-counts-for-Sunday Mass restores the ancient Christian practice of a Vigil, *but* substituting a 40-minute service for the primitive, twelve-hour *pannuchia* (all night vigil) is pastoral. Reading the books of Scripture continuously at Mass in the new lectionary is the authentic ancient practice for instructing the people, *but* certain passages must be omitted because of pastoral needs.

But none of this would have surprised the founder of the Liturgical Movement, Dom Guéranger, who in 1840, said that adherents of the anti-liturgical heresy necessarily engage in a habitual contradiction of their own principles:

> All heretics without exception start out by wishing to return to the customs of the early Church... they prune, they efface, they suppress — everything falls under their hatchet — and while we await a vision of our religion in its pristine purity, we find ourselves encumbered with new formulations, fresh off the press, and incontestably human, for the men who created them are still alive.[50]

50. IL 1:399.

## LOUIS BOUYER

After Jungmann, the second most influential intellectual in the Liturgical Movement during this period was Father Louis Bouyer (1913–2003), a member of the Congregation of the Oratory.

Born in Paris and reared in a Protestant environment, Bouyer became a Lutheran and entered the ministry. He received a Protestant license in theology; his thesis, published in 1943, focused on the theology of the body of Christ in the writings of St. Athansasius. The exact date of Bouyer's conversion is unclear, but by 1947 at the latest, he had become a Catholic priest of the Oratory, had completed a doctoral degree at the prestigious Institut Catholique in Paris and had become a professor of ascetical and mystical theology.[51]

Bouyer had a quick mind, a sharp pen, and an encyclopedic knowledge of liturgical history and theology, a combination that brought real firepower to advancing the cause of liturgical revolution in the 1950s. The book that secured Bouyer's place in the vanguard was his 1954 work, *Liturgical Piety*, based on a series of 24 lectures and six seminars he gave in the summer of 1952 for the Liturgy Study Program at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana.

Its publication marks what Father Didier Bonneterre called a decisive stage in the history of the Liturgical Movement: "the movement removes its mask." With the appearance of Bouyer's *Liturgical Piety*, said Bonneterre, "The wolves are now in the sheepfold; they no longer need to disguise themselves in sheep's clothing."[52]

Now, if Vatican II had not occurred, this particular book would not have held much interest a half-century later. At some point Bouyer would probably have been written off as a self-important French intellectual with a giant ego,[53] and his bizarre ideas would have ended up in a Holy Office "under suspicion" file.

But since Vatican II did happen after all, and Bouyer wound up helping to create the *Novus Ordo*, his bizarre ideas are necessarily of interest to us here, and this on four points in particular: (1) Bouyer's undisguised contempt for the traditional Catholic liturgy. (2) Bouyer's notion of the Mass as assembly-supper, which will become the theological basis for the creation of the New

51. Grant Sperry-White, "Louis Bouyer: Theologian, Historian, Mystagogue," in Robert L. Tuzik, ed., *How Firm a Foundation: Leaders of the Liturgical Movement* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications 1990), 96–7.

52. *Liturgical Movement*, 57–8.

53. It is easy to imagine him delivering his grand theories with much pursing of the lips, puffing of the cheeks and shrugging of the shoulders.

Mass.[54] (3) The other "real presences" proposed by Bouyer that undermine the traditional Catholic doctrine on the Real Presence and will resurface in the 1969 document setting forth the theological principles behind the *Novus Ordo*. (4) Bouyer's disdain for Thomism and neo-scholastic theology.

**1. "False Conceptions" of Liturgy.** With Bouyer, as with Jungmann, the Catholic liturgy went bad during the Middle Ages and never recovered. Bouyer therefore used the introductory chapters of *Liturgical Piety* "to explain and criticize the false conception of the liturgy still surviving today in order to go straight on to the sound one."[55]

Bouyer's language is far sharper than Jungmann's. Here is a sampler of some of his targets:

> **The Catholic Middle Ages** "[The Medieval period] had already begun to overlay the liturgy with fanciful interpretations and developments foreign to its nature. Therefore, far from demonstrating an ideal understanding and practice of the Catholic liturgy, the Medieval period in fact paved the way for the abandonment of the liturgy by Protestantism and its final disgrace and neglect in so much of post-Tridentine Catholicism."[56]
>
> **Tridentine/Baroque Era (1550-1750)** "[This was permeated with] false notions of public worship... the pageant of court ceremonial... The Baroque period was Catholic [although] not genuinely Christian... a soulless kind of conservatism... the liturgy was embalmed in productions which treated it as reverently and as indifferently as the King's corpse at a royal funeral... a kind of heavenly grand opera... its legacy to us is often little more than the trappings of a carnival... rigid and unintelligent traditionalism... scarcely anyone was capable of understanding [the rites'] true worth..."[57]
>
> **Catholic Neo-Medieval/Gothic (19th century)** "[This manifested a] child-like, not to say childish quality... congenital lack of scientific grounding and even of healthy critical reasoning... [The Romantic period adopted] a great many of the most serious errors of the Baroque... bogus philosophy... tradition cut off from and opposed to any kind of critical knowledge... fossilization and stultification of the rites and formulae of the liturgy itself."[58]

54. Bonneterre very perceptively pointed out some of these parallels in 1980. See *Liturgical Movement*, 61–5.
55. LP, 15.
56. LP, 15.
57. LP, 4, 6, 7, 8.
58. LP, 10–1.

**Guéranger, Early Liturgical Movement (19th century)** "The finished product of these developments is the type of worship carried out in the monasteries restored by Dom Guéranger... antiquarian reconstruction [of] doubtful authenticity on many cardinal points... it could not have become the real worship of any actual congregation of its own period... sham scholarship of Dom Guéranger [whose] logical consequences are carried to almost unbelievable extremes... unaware of the fact that the Missal of Pius V did not represent the Roman liturgy itself in its purest and most perfect form."[59]

If the correct understanding of the liturgy had died out among Catholics, where could one find it?

Among heretics, it seems. Bouyer praises seventeenth century Anglican theologians (the "Caroline Divines") as having perceived the way to "true liturgical renewal," and created "one of the purest forms of Christian common prayer to be found anywhere in the world."[60] He also lovingly enumerates the liturgical changes introduced by the seventeenth century French Jansenist priest Jubé, and praises them as "intelligent and healthy improvements"[61] — practices which will reappear everywhere in the Mass after Vatican II.

**2. The Ideal: Jewish Assembly.** If such were the *false* conceptions of the Catholic liturgy and the few rare exceptions thereto, what is the *true* one? It is to be sought, Bouyer said, in the Jewish Qehal (assembly duly summoned) of the Old Testament. In an early chapter of *Liturgical Piety*, he therefore defines the liturgy as follows:

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59. LP, 11–3.

60. LP, 44–7. "In the Church of England were found also some of the men who first perceived that the way to a true liturgical renewal lay neither in Protestantism nor in the Baroque mentality... the first men to see more or less clearly where the true way should lie... these men were actually led on to emphasize the best tendencies in the primitive Reformation... The true tradition was rather to be disengaged from all spurious and unhealthy additional additions and thus renewed in its primitive freshness, in order to be re-expressed in a frame which would make it accessible to the people of the day. Hence the insistence on the use of the vernacular... [The English Protestant cathedral services] are not only one of the most impressive, but also one of the purest forms of Christian common prayer to be found anywhere in the world."

61. See LP, 53–4. "Jubé insisted first of all on the public and collective character of the Mass. [He instituted the practice] of having no other cross or [candles] on the altar than the processional cross and tapers, which were set in place at the beginning of Mass. Jubé began Mass by saying the Psalm *Judica* and the Confiteor along with the people; then he sat down on the Epistle side of the altar, and listened to the Epistle and the Gospel as they were sung by the assistant ministers, after having sung the Collect himself. He sang the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo along with the people, instead of saying them in a low voice by himself. He also restored the offertory procession... He never began the Canon before the Sanctus had been sung in full, and he said the prayers of the Canon loudly enough to be heard by the whole congregation in his small church."

> The meeting of God's People called together in convocation by God's word through the apostolic ministry, in order that the People, consciously united together, may hear God's Word itself in Christ, may adhere to that Word by means of the prayer and praise amid which the Word is proclaimed, and so seal by the Eucharistic sacrifice the Covenant which is accomplished by that same Word.[62]

Later in *Liturgical Piety*, Bouyer applies this notion of assembly to the Mass:

> From what has already been said on the "Qehal Yahweh" and the brotherly meal of those who are expecting the consolation of Israel, it has been already made sufficiently clear that the core of Christian liturgy is to be found in the Eucharistic *synaxis* [assembly], in the Mass.[63]

> The Mass as it developed from the "Qehal Yahweh" was actually the People of God in the process of making itself. The Word of God summoned that assembly... to make the People by means of the convocation itself and hearing of God's Word in the course of it... the sacrifice with which that assembly always ended was always the bond of union which in fact constituted the People as such while dedicating it to its God.[64]

"Assembly" thus constitutes what Bouyer says is the permanent shape of the liturgy "in the Catholic tradition."

To explain what this implies, Bouyer turns to *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*, a book written in the 1930s by the Swedish Lutheran ecumenist Yngve Brilioth.[65] This will give us "the full Catholic tradition in all its wealth and purity." Summarizing the teaching of Brilioth,[66] Bouyer lays out the four elements in this tradition:

- *Communion.* Bouyer says this does not mean reception of the Sacrament by an individual believer, but common partaking of the same gifts in a community meal.
- *Sacrifice.* The Christian assembly continues the Qehal, and everything in it is sacrificial.
- *Thanksgiving.* Bread and wine are the starting point representing all created things, and an acknowledgment that "everything is a grace."
- *Memorial.* Memory of the Cross is kept over "the bread and chalice." This is a memorial, not just of the Cross, but of the whole history of the People of God.[67]

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62. LP, 29.
63. LP, 74–5.
64. LP, 160.
65. *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic* (London: SPCK 1930).
66. *Eucharistic Faith*, 18–69.
67. LP, 75–8.

The last element, *memorial*, Bouyer sees as particularly important. The *whole* Eucharistic celebration, he says, is a memorial. There is an inseparable connection between the two parts of the Christian assembly, the Bible readings and the meal. The readings lead up to the meal, and the meal commemorates the climax of this process in the Cross of Christ. The meal needs the readings to point out how to view the meal correctly. The whole Mass is "a single liturgy of the Word."[68]

This will strike the reader as mumbo-jumbo. It is, but we will hold our fire for the moment.

**3. Attacks on the Real Presence.** Bouyer follows this by using Brilioth as his Protestant stalking horse for a multi-pronged attack on the doctrine of the Real Presence.

(1) Bouyer says Brilioth warned of the grave danger in trying to make "the Mystery" in the Eucharist a "distinct element" added to the four elements mentioned above. Bouyer asks whether there is not "a good deal of truth in this warning," because:

> In some forms of modern Catholicism, certainly, the overemphasis on the Real Presence... has eclipsed people's appreciation of the Eucharist as communion, sacrifice, thanksgiving and memorial and has also degraded rather than exalted the Christian apprehension of the Mystery itself.[69]

Note: Emphasis on the Real Presence has *degraded* the understanding of the Mystery of the Mass.

(2) Against this, Bouyer recommends adopting the "true balance" found in Brilioth:

> Clearly, this balanced view of the celebration of the Eucharist can enable us to grasp fully the idea of the real presence of Christ in His Church. We are not, in a word to focus our contemplation on the sacramental bread and wine alone, but on two other realities as well... Christ will be present in the elements only because He is present in the man who is to preside over the *synaxis*... Christ is to be present in the whole body of the Church... especially through the consummation in the holy meal.[70]

Here Brilioth/Bouyer has introduced two other "real presences" — in the man who "presides" over the assembly, and in the whole body of the Church itself.

(3) Brilioth/Bouyer adds that a failure to see the "right" interrelation between these presences leads to a misunderstanding of the whole celebration.

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68. LP, 79.
69. LP, 80.
70. LP, 80–1.

From this, Bouyer immediately jumps to the following:

> Now, as we said above, in the final stages of such a disintegration, there tends to be a retrogression from true religion to magic.[71]

So, as regards the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, in a mere two pages of his book, Bouyer has taken us from degradation, to devaluation, to disintegration, to a retrogression to magic. Liturgical piety!

(4) The final blow to the doctrine of the Real Presence comes later in Bouyer's book. Ask a Catholic what "holy thing" is confected in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and he will tell you that it is the Body of Christ. But from Bouyer, we get this:

> Here is the deepest meaning of the word "sacrifice": *sacrum facere*, to make holy. What is the holy thing which is made...? We can say that it is the People, for it is made a People in being made the People *of God*.[72]

The Mass "makes" the People of God.

**4. Disdain for Thomism.** Even the Catholic whose theological knowledge hardly goes beyond the Baltimore Catechism will sense from points 2 and 3 that there is something "different" about Bouyer's theological ideas on the Mass and how he expresses them. The language is fuzzy; it is hard to get a clear idea of what Bouyer is *really* saying.

This results from Bouyer's disdain for Thomism or neo-scholastic theology — its categories, definitions, clarity of argumentation, etc. — and it emerges in several places in *Liturgical Piety*. Here is Bouyer's attack on the notion of an essential sacramental form, an idea common to all treatises on sacramental theology that follow the Angelic Doctor:

> The tendency, then, either to reduce the consecrative action merely to a central prayer considered apart from the whole single Eucharist or to reduce this action to a few words of God in Christ, distinct from the prayer of thanksgiving, is simply a tendency to disintegrate the Christian Eucharist and to lose its deeper meaning.[73]

And here is Bouyer's attack on how scholastic theology treats the sacraments in general:

> [We have lost] sight of what the sacraments really are, and of the way in which they are connected with one another so as to make a single and well-organized whole. The modern method of presenting the theology of the

71. LP, 81.
72. LP, 160. His emphasis.
73. LP, 138.

> sacraments completely neglects their mutual connection, practically forgetting the profound thought of St. Thomas.[74]

Strong stuff: disintegration, loss of meaning, and a Thomism that forgets St. Thomas!

**5. Analysis.** The ideology of Bouyer's *Liturgical Piety* takes the Liturgical Movement several steps beyond Jungmann. Bonneterre was indeed correct: with this book, the mask was off. Bouyer was a modernist, and the methods and theories in his book are modernist.

(1) It is obvious that Bouyer detested the Catholic liturgy as it came down to us over the centuries. In Bouyer, we find Jungmann's corruption theory, minus the footnotes and spiced with vitriol. The Church *never* got it right: The liturgy of the Middle Ages caused Protestants to abandon the liturgy. The Catholic liturgy in the Tridentine and Baroque eras was embalmed, soulless, rigid and unintelligent. The nineteenth century attempts by Dom Guéranger and others to restore some of the spirit of the medieval liturgy were childish, unscientific, bogus, cut off, fossilization, stultification, antiquarian, doubtful, sham, unbelievable and unaware.

None of it was good, because none of it conformed to the exacting standard of "primitive Christianity" that the Great Modern Intellectual has now uncovered after a millennium or two of obscurity.

(2) The concept of the Mass that Bouyer proposed in *Liturgical Piety* deliberately bypassed the Catholic doctrine that the essence of the Mass consists in the *sacrifice*.[75]

This is a typical modernist trick. You short-circuit or "surpass" a dogma by ignoring it and then substituting something else: "We have now moved beyond the narrow, Tridentine, neo-scholastic, Thomist theology of [fill in the blank] to the newly rediscovered, biblical paradigm of [fill in the blank again]." This method allows the modernist to deny a dogma without ever saying so explicitly; previous teaching is simply rendered moot.

So for *sacrifice*, Bouyer has substituted *assembly*. This he explains as a gathering (*synaxis*) or congregation of the People of God that has been officially convoked. The assembly consciously unites together, hears God's Word, gives thanks and praise, offers the sacrifice which is the bond of its union and shares gifts of fellowship, all in imitation of the Qehal Yahweh and brotherly

74. LP, 157.

75. A typical definition: "The unbloody sacrifice of the New Law, in which the Body and Blood of Christ, under the species of bread and wine, by a mystical immolation, are offered by a legitimate minister of Christ to God in order to acknowledge His supreme dominion and to apply to us the merits of the Sacrifice of the Cross." B. Merkelbach, *Summa Theologiae Moralis*, 8th ed. (Montreal: Desclée 1949) 3:308.

meal eaten by those who expected the consolation of Israel.

Henceforth, *assembly* is *the* correct understanding of the Mass. *Sacrifice* is merely one element among the four that constitute the "Catholic tradition" — according to a Lutheran. And the "deepest meaning" of the word "sacrifice," Bouyer later adds, is that the "holy thing which is made" is the *people*.

To complete the obliteration of Catholic doctrine, there is Bouyer's treatment of *memorial* as it relates to *assembly*. Memory is made of "the whole history of the people of God," the whole Mass becomes a Liturgy of the Word, etc. This puts everything in salvation history on the same level, and obliterates the unique relationship between the Mass and the Sacrifice of the Cross.

The clarity of Catholic doctrine thus disappears — as it is meant to — under a pile of mumbo-jumbo.

(3) Bouyer attacks the dogma of the Real Presence by introducing other presences that he (a) denominates as "real," and then (b) places on the same level as the Real Presence. Here, instead of substitution, we encounter another modernist trick: "inflation."

In traditional Catholic sacramental theology, the *Real* Presence refers to one thing alone — the substantial presence of Christ, Body and Blood, soul and divinity, under the species of bread and wine. By applying the same adjective to the presence of Christ in the priest and in the Church, Bouyer debases the verbal currency. Several presences are now equally "real."

Again, the clarity of Catholic doctrine disappears. And if that were not bad enough, failure to accept the modernist mumbo-jumbo about these inflated "presences" — Bouyer solemnly warns us — leads to "disintegration" and retrogression to "magic."

(4) A modernist spurns Thomism (or the scholastic method) precisely because of its clarity. This traditional method of explaining the truths of the faith nails down the *essences* of things — what it is, for instance, that really makes the Mass to be the Mass, and thus distinguishes it from other acts of public worship such as, say, Vespers or Benediction. "Essences" are permanent — they don't change. They are the basis for the objectivity of truth, not only in theology, but in everything else as well.

This contradicts one of the fundamental presuppositions of modernism: dogmatic evolution. Dogmas (religious truths), they say, change from age to age, depending on how they are perceived by men — especially, of course, by men like Louis Bouyer. Thus in the case of the Mass, *assembly* can replace and subsume *sacrifice*.

In *Liturgical Piety*, Bouyer's attacks against Thomism were relatively restrained — the most one perhaps dared to launch before Vatican II. After the Council, though, Bouyer's fangs came out.

Bouyer particularly detested the great twentieth-century Thomist and

anti-modernist Father Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange OP (1877–1964). In a 1976 work, Bouyer called Garrigou's portrayal of God "a dead head of frozen abstraction,"[76] and denounced his Thomism as a "bloodless religious philosophy," devoid of "the vision of faith," a "futile exercise in tautology,"[77] travesty, "deadly essentialism,"[78] "surrender to nonsense," "a spider's web of abstractions,"[79] and akin to "some purely arbitrary mental game like charades or a crossword puzzle."[80]

Show me who your enemies are... The very violence of Bouyer's language convicts him as a modernist.

Likewise, his inconsistency. "Like Tertullian," an admirer of Bouyer said, "one would not predict which side of an issue he might take at the podium."[81] For a modernist, this is the highest form of praise; for a Thomist — or even a simple Catholic — it should be an insult.

In fact, after Vatican II Bouyer would denounce with bitter tirades certain aspects of the liturgical reform that were nothing more than logical consequences of principles he himself had enunciated a decade before in *Liturgical Piety*.

(5) Another piece of evidence is Bouyer's liturgical ecumenism or interdenominationalism.

The Great Scholar, having enunciated his principles for separating the true concept of the liturgy from the false, and having found the Catholic Church wanting (for 1500 years or more), proposes that Catholics now turn to the theories of the Swedish Lutheran ecumenist Yngve Brilioth in order to understand "the full Catholic tradition in all its wealth and purity."[82] Catholics got it wrong, but heretics got it right, so the Church must follow the lead of the heretics.

Only a modernist could make such a proposal, because for him, dogma evolves and in the long run the doctrinal differences between Catholic and non-Catholic don't *really* matter. So, learn from the heretics.

## MONTINI BEFORE VATICAN II

Of great interest to us, of course, is the influence of all the foregoing on the man who in 1963 would become Paul VI, Giovanni Battista Montini.

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76. *The Invisible Father: Approaches to the Mystery of the Divinity*, trans. by Hugh Gilbert OSB (Petersham MA: St. Bede's Publications 1999), 248.
77. *Invisible Father*, 250.
78. *Invisible Father*, 252.
79. *Invisible Father*, 257.
80. *Invisible Father*, 301.
81. Thus Kathleen Hughes, ed., *How Firm a Foundation: Voices of the Early Liturgical Movement* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications 1990), 49.
82. LP, 75.

Until 1954, Montini held an influential position in the Vatican Secretariat of State, and was one of the two key administrative assistants to Pius XII. He had long been a devotee of Liturgical Movement writers such as Dom Odo Casel (a protégé of Herwegen whose ideas on the Church had been implicitly rebuked in *Mystici Corporis*), Romano Guardini[83] and Josef Jungmann.

Jungmann's influence on Montini was not limited to liturgical questions alone. After Montini returned from a trip to Germany as a curial official in 1939, he

> talked enthusiastically about an article by the Jesuit liturgist, Josef Jungmann, that he never forgot. *It was a turning point in his ecclesiology. It presented a different vision of the Church*: "One no longer thinks of the Church first of all as an hierarchical organization standing over against the Christian; instead one becomes aware that it is the community of believers, a warm, living, compact environment in which each one is plunged." ... Montini dug [the Jungmann article] out again in 1963 when preparing [his Encyclical] *Ecclesiam Suam*.[84]

Thus Jungmann's doctrinal theories resurfaced more than a quarter-century later as Paul VI and Vatican II were engaged in the process of creating a new theology of the Church.

During his time at the Secretariat of State, Montini offered Masses for small groups of students from the Italian Catholic University Federation. These were "dialogue Masses" (the entire congregation recites all the responses together) that were "based on the principles found in Romano Guardini and Pius Parsch," with, as Montini himself said, "the group praying around the altar."[85] All this, of course, will become very familiar after Vatican II.

**1. Montini's 1958 Pastoral Letter.** Montini was appointed Archbishop of Milan in 1954, and in 1958 published a lengthy archdiocesan pastoral letter on the liturgy.[86] The letter firmly situates him on the left of the Liturgical Movement, and heralds what we know will come in a few years. Montini recommended using lectors, commentators, the dialogue Mass, the Offertory Procession, and presenting symbolic gifts during the procession, practices that would receive Vatican approval in a document issued later in 1958,

83. Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (New York: Paulist 1993), 182–3.
84. Hebblethwaite, 132 and note. My emphasis.
85. Hebblethwaite, 256–7.
86. Giovanni Battista Montini, "Liturgical Formation," Pastoral Letter to the Archdiocese of Milan (Lent 1958), *Worship* 33 (1958–9), 136–64.

just before the death of Pius XII.[87] These practical recommendations are not particularly surprising.

Far more interesting are the intellectual influences on his thinking that are evident in the letter. Apart from Pius XII in *Mediator Dei*, the only living writers Montini cited were from the left of the Liturgical Movement: Guardini, Jungmann and Bouyer.

(1) *Montini and Jungmann.* Both Jungmann's corruption theory and his pastoral liturgy theory crop up in several passages. Montini said the faithful must understand the rites of the liturgy, and "one obstacle is the Latin language."[88] Shades of Jungmann's Fog Curtain speech, of course, and a none-too-subtle hint that Latin should be abandoned for the vernacular.

Moreover, Montini said, there is the style of the rites. This appears to "conspire to impede understanding" of the liturgy for modern man who desires extreme intelligibility.[89] Again, corruption of the primitive ideal, and the Fog Curtain.

Montini warns against excluding modern man from the "inner spiritual precincts" of the Sacred Liturgy. We must therefore "transform the difficulty posed by the liturgical rite."[90] After quoting a line from Jungmann on the liturgy as pastoral care — "The liturgy, celebrated in a living manner, has been for centuries the principal form of pastoral art" — Montini added "It must be such still."[91]

With benefit of hindsight, naturally, all these comments were very ominous indeed.

(2) *Montini and Bouyer.* But far more ominous still was Montini's adoption of ideas from the assembly theology of Louis Bouyer.

At the beginning of part two of the pastoral, Bouyer-esque language starts to pop up: Montini said there must be "a sense of common action," "attention must be paid to the liturgical assembly," "it must look like a com-

87. See Chapter 3.

88. "Liturgical Formation," 153.

89. "Liturgical Formation," 153. "But Latin is not the only obstacle. The difficulty arises principally from the way in which the liturgy expresses the prayer of the Church and the divine mysteries. The variety of its forms, the dramatic progression of its rites, the hieratic style of its language, the continual use of sign and symbols, the theological depth of the words and the mysteries fulfilled — all seem to conspire to impede the understanding of the liturgy, especially for modern man, accustomed to reducing everything to an extreme intelligibility..."

90. "Liturgical Formation," 153–4. "[The faithful] will find themselves excluded from its inner spiritual precincts, whereas the progress of culture has accustomed them to understanding and knowing all about everything in their environment and field of interest. We must transform the difficulty posed by the liturgical rite into a help for the penetration of the hidden meaning contained in Catholic worship."

91. "Liturgical Formation," 161, quoting Jungmann, *Maison-Dieu*, 47–9, 62.

munity and have an experience of community," the interior arrangement of a church building involves "a theological concept, the very nature of the gathering," what we are doing is "to form that people of God... which constitutes the *Ecclesia*."[92] We need to "infuse into all the sense of a common action, which is precisely the sense of participation. This is what is known today as the *communal sense*."[93]

The quote that Montini used as his authority to support the foregoing ideas is the following:

> "The liturgy" says a modern author, "is to be seen as the meeting of God's People called together in convocation by God's word through the apostolic ministry, in order that the People, consciously united together, may hear God's Word itself in Christ, may adhere to that Word by means of the prayer and praise amid which the Word is proclaimed, and so seal by the Eucharistic sacrifice the Covenant which is accomplished by that same Word."[94]

We have, of course, seen this quote before. It is from Bouyer's *Liturgical Piety*, and is the starting point for his assembly theology.

**2. Analysis.** Here, we need merely restate what is obvious.

What Montini did to the Mass as Paul VI was merely the application of principles he had embraced long before his election in 1963: True participation in the Mass must be vocal. Latin was an obstacle that had to be removed. The Church's rites impede understanding and exclude modern man; they must therefore be transformed to accommodate him. The liturgy must be used as a means to teach modern man. The liturgy must pay attention to the assembly. Those present at Mass must have an experience of community. The nature of a gathering is a theological concept.

Those who knew Montini's ideas on the liturgy from before Vatican II would not have been surprised at what he did to the liturgy after Vatican II. It was all of a piece.

By far, the most striking feature of the pastoral is the quote that Montini lifted directly out of Bouyer. The passage was not merely the starting point in *Liturgical Piety* for Bouyer's ecumenical assembly theology of the Mass (itself based on writings of the Lutheran Brilioth); it was the basis for the definition of the Mass used by the creators of the 1969 *Novus Ordo Missae* of Paul VI,[95]

92. "Liturgical Formation," 147.
93. "Liturgical Formation," 148.
94. LP, 29, quoted in "Liturgical Formation,"148.
95. "The Lord's Supper or Mass is the sacred assembly [*synaxis*] or congregation of the people of God gathering together, with a priest presiding, in order to celebrate the memorial of the Lord. For this reason, Christ's promise applies supremely to such a local gathering of the Church: 'Where two or three come together in my name, there am I in their midst.' (Mt 18:20)." *General Instruction on the Roman Missal* (1969), §7, DOL 1397, note a.

a definition that would be denounced as Protestant, modernist, and a betrayal of the teaching of the Council of Trent.

When the controversy over the definition arose in 1969, Paul VI was portrayed as a dupe of modernists in his entourage. But Montini's 1958 pastoral is proof that he had personally bought into the Bouyer-Brilioth assembly theology long before that.

## THE MODERNIST LINK ACKNOWLEDGED

Today, most liturgical scholars and liturgists on the conservative side of the spectrum would probably scoff at the claim that the Liturgical Movement before Vatican II was permeated with modernism.

But the allegation is not merely an ultra-traditionalist fever dream, because in the 1940s and 1950s some supporters of the Movement had already noticed the modernist connection and treated it as a *positive* development. While a Catholic in those days needed to be circumspect about praising such a phenomenon, a Protestant enthusiast for the Movement like Ernest Koenker could baldly state in a 1954 work:

> It is especially in its theological method that the Liturgical Movement evidences a relationship with the errors of Modernism as condemned by Pius X in *Pascendi*. Though no frontal attack can be made on Scholastic formulations of theology, it is pointed out that the liturgy has a concrete, realistic approach that renders the approach through natural theology, for example, unimportant.[96]

This approach, said Koenker, is typical of Guardini and others; it "breaks away completely from the usual mode of deductive, systematic theology" and is "phenomenological."[97]

And indeed in *Liturgical Piety* (published the same year as Koenker's book), we have already seen Bouyer engage in just such an indirect attack against the scholastic (i.e., Catholic) teaching on both the Real Presence and sacramental forms.

Koenker also commended the Movement for adopting the modernists' historical-critical method and applying it to the liturgy. As examples, he singled out the work of Theodore Klauser in his *Short History of the Western Liturgy* and Josef Jungmann in his *Mass of the Roman Rite*.

> Significant in this connection is the fact that in the Liturgical Movement, as in German Modernism, we note a preference for the Church of the early

96. Ernest Benjamin Koenker, *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1954), 29.

97. Ibid. 29–30, quoting Walter Lypgens, "Romano Guardini," *Dublin Review* 455 (Spring 1949), 80–92.

centuries. There is no doubt that Heiler and Birnbaum are correct when they see the Liturgical Movement continuing certain of the tendencies of Modernism: *certain of the most fruitful trends condemned by Pius X in his blanket condemnation have served to make the Liturgical Movement the great power it is today.*[98]

And of course it will be those who carried on the "fruitful trends" of modernism before Vatican II who will also produce the Mass of Paul VI afterwards.

## SUMMARY

• The French Benedictine Dom Prosper Guéranger founded the Liturgical Movement in the nineteenth century in order to renew fervor for the liturgy among the Catholic clergy and faithful. The Liturgical Movement achieved remarkable successes in restoring chant, sacred music and the correct performanc of the liturgy.

• In his *Liturgical Institutions*, Guéranger condemned the "anti-liturgical heresy." The characteristics he attributes to it (hatred for Latin, false appeals to antiquity, invention of new formulas, contradictory principles, etc.) resemble, to a remarkable degree, the objections that twentieth-century traditionalists raised against the post-Vatican II liturgical reforms.

• In the early twentieth century, however, Lambert Beauduin, Ildefons Herwegen, Odo Casel, Romano Guardini, Pius Parsch and others led the Liturgical Movement towards false ecumenism, theological modernism (immanentism and dogmatic evolution), liturgical antiquarianism, vernacularism, dangerous ideas on the Church and the Real Presence and liturgical experimentation. On the eve of the Second World War, the Liturgical Movement was in the hands of theological modernists.

• There are several possible explanations for this turn of events. On one hand, the incorrect popular perception of liturgical studies as "just rubrics" made the field seem immune to modernist mischief. On the other hand, modernists would be attracted to liturgical studies because of the role symbols, sentiment and religious experience occupy in their heresy of dogmatic evolution.

• In 1942 conservatives in Germany accused the Liturgical Movement of promoting vernacularism, exaggerating the priesthood of the laity, incorporating Protestant dogmatic ideas, extending the limits of the Church to non-Catholics, adopting the modernist notion of faith as experience, neglecting dogmatic theology, preferring modern philosophical systems, and promoting liturgical archaeologism.

98. Ibid. 30–1. My emphasis.

• Pius XII intervened with two encyclicals that attempted to correct these errors: *Mystici Corporis* on the nature of the Church (1943) and *Mediator Dei* (1947) on the sacred liturgy. Both clearly restated Catholic doctrine, condemned various errors, and sought to set the Liturgical Movement back on the right path.

• Despite this, throughout the 1950s the movement continued on the same path as before, protected and promoted by friends in high places in the Church, among them, Archbishop Giovanni Battista Montini (Paul VI).

• Josef Jungmann earned a reputation as the intellectual powerhouse of the Liturgical Movement with the publication of his massive 1948 work, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*. This book, more than any other, prepared the way for the post-Vatican II liturgical reforms.

• Throughout his writings, Jungmann developed two important concepts: (1) *The Corruption Theory*, which held that the Mass as it stood represented a departure from primitive liturgical ideals. (2) *Pastoral Liturgy*, which advocated refashioning the Mass to meet the perceived needs of contemporary man.

• Jungmann's corruption theory and his concept of "pastoral liturgy" are contradictory principles: (a) *restore* the liturgy to its ancient, pre-corrupt ideal; (b) *adapt* the liturgy to perceived modern needs. One theory or the other may therefore be invoked in order to justify or exclude just about any liturgical change imaginable — and this will be the case after Vatican II.

• In 1954 Louis Bouyer published *Liturgical Piety*, another work that would influence the course of the post-Vatican II reforms. Bouyer was a modernist, and the methods and theories in his book are modernist. Bouyer, like Jungmann, believed the Catholic liturgy had become corrupted.

• The important concepts that Bouyer developed to apply to the Mass are: (1) *Assembly Theology*, which Bouyer uses to bypass the Catholic doctrine that the essence of the Mass consists in the sacrifice. (2) *Other "Real" Presences*, which Bouyer inflates in order to attack and undermine Catholic dogma on *the* Real Presence.

• As Archbishop of Milan, Montini promoted the corruption and pastoral liturgy theories of Jungmann. Montini viewed Latin and mystical rites in the liturgy as "obstacles" which repelled modern man who desired intelligibility in everything. Montini said the Church must transform the difficulties posed by her liturgical rites.

• Montini also embraced and promoted the assembly theology of the Mass that Louis Bouyer formulated based on the writings of the Lutheran Yngve Brilioth. In his 1958 pastoral letter, Montini quoted the passage from Bouyer on which the definition of the 1969 *Novus Ordo Missae* would be based.

• Supporters of the Liturgical Movement acknowledged and praised the connection with the modernism condemned by Pius X.

• Accordingly, theories on liturgical reform and the nature of the Mass that Jungmann and Bouyer proposed during these years will resurface in the Mass of Paul VI. Jungmann's corruption theory will be used to strip the Mass of "accretions," and his ideas on pastoral liturgy will be used to introduce various didactic (Mass-as-classroom) elements. Bouyer's Mass-as-assembly theology will serve as the definition for the New Mass in 1969, conjoined to other "real" presences he invented.

But we will not have to wait until 1969 to see these ideas have their effect — because the ink on the first printing of Jungmann's book in 1948 was not even dry, and creation of the New Mass had already begun.

Chapter 3

# Liturgical Changes 1948–1969: The Creation of the New Mass

DURING MY FIRST YEAR in a seminary of the Society of St. Pius X, the Holy Week ceremonies left me somewhat puzzled. They seemed remarkably similar to the post-Vatican II rites I remembered from my years as a diocesan seminarian. Why, I wondered, didn't the people who imposed the *Novus Ordo* in 1969 also change the Holy Week rites then as well?

The answer, I eventually learned, was that they didn't need to. The same men who had produced the *Novus Ordo* had *already* changed Holy Week long before Vatican II. For them, the New Mass merely completed a long process of liturgical change that they had set in motion during the reign of Pius XII.

Works that criticize the New Mass usually do not make this connection. The real break, traditionalists assume, came with Vatican II. Before that, though there may have been rats in the walls elsewhere in the Church, all was still right with the sacred liturgy itself, and the apex of Catholic liturgical tradition is to be found in the liturgical books of 1958 or 1962 (depending on your persuasion).

But by then (and pick either date) the process of undermining the foundations of the sacred liturgy was in fact already well underway, not only in the theory (as we saw in the last chapter) but also in practice.

Thus Annibale Bugnini, the key player in the creation of all the post-Vatican II rites, entitled his memoirs *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948–1975* — note the beginning date — and called its first chapter on the pre-Vatican II changes "The Key to the Liturgical Reform."

Indeed, in his 1969 Apostolic Constitution promulgating the New Order of Mass, Paul VI points to the 1951 and 1955 Holy Week changes introduced during the reign of Pius XII as the beginning of the process for the creation of his new Mass.

> Since the beginning of this liturgical renewal, it has also become clear that the formularies of the Roman Missal had to be revised and enriched. A beginning was made by Pius XII in the restoration of the Easter Vigil and Holy Week services; he thus took the first step toward adapting the Roman Missal to the contemporary mentality.[1]

1. Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum*, 3 April 1969, DOL 1357.

We will take Paul VI at his word, so we will begin our story with the Vatican commission for liturgical reform established in 1948.

We will then examine in order the eleven steps in the process that created the *Novus Ordo Missae* of 1969. (1) The experimental 1951 Easter Vigil. (2) The simplification of the rubrics in 1955. (3) The 1955 Renewed Order for Holy Week. (4) The 1958 Instruction on Sacred Music. (5) The new Code of Rubrics promulgated in 1960. (6) The Second Vatican Council's 1963 Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. (7) The initial 1964 changes in the Order of Mass. (8) The permission given in 1965 to celebrate Mass facing the people. (9) The additional 1967 changes in the Order of the Mass. (10) The new Eucharistic Prayers introduced in 1968 which could be used in place of the Roman Canon. (11) Finally in 1969, the culmination of the process: the promulgation of the New Order of Mass of Paul VI.

## THE PIAN REFORM COMMISSION (1948)

After the partial reform of the Breviary by St. Pius X in 1914, the possibility of further modifications to the Calendar and the Breviary had been discussed periodically in official circles. The upheavals caused by two world wars, however, had intervened and made it impossible to pursue the project at the time. In May 1946, however, the Historical Section of the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of Rites presented a memo to Pope Pius XII on the question of liturgical reform, and with the approval of Pius XII, the Austrian Redemptorist Joseph Löw then began drafting a plan for a general reform.

That same year we encounter for the first time a figure who for the next three decades will first influence, and then direct, the gradual transformation of the Catholic liturgy: Annibale Bugnini (1912–82).

In 1946, members of the "left" of the Liturgical Movement in France had organized a conference at Thieulin, near Chartres, in order to discuss their plans for the future. One of the participants, Father Duployé, later related the following incident:

> Some days before the reunion at Thieulin, I had a visit from an Italian Lazarist, Fr. Bugnini, who had asked me to obtain an invitation for him. The Father listened very attentively, without saying a word, for four days. During our return journey to Paris, as the train was passing along the Swiss Lake at Versailles, he said to me: "I admire what you are doing, but the greatest service I can render you is never to say a word in Rome about all that I have just heard."[2]

2. Quoted in Bonneterre, 52.

**1. Bugnini Sounds the Alarm.** In November 1947, as we have seen, Pius XII published his great encyclical on the liturgy, *Mediator Dei*. Despite its condemnation of the errors and deviations of the Liturgical Movement (archaeologism, lay priesthood, false notions of participation, etc.), the left in the movement saw the discussion of the liturgy that the encyclical provoked as an opportunity to advance their program.

Two months later, on 28 January 1948, Annibale Bugnini, by then the young and highly-regarded editor of the influential Roman liturgical periodical *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, sent a confidential note to the magazine's collaborators throughout the world. The note contained five questions on the reform of the breviary, calendar, Martyrology and all the liturgical books.[3] Since *Ephemerides Liturgicae* was regarded as the semi-official voice of Roman liturgical circles, Bugnini later said that the questionnaire he had sent out was:

> the first alarm signal that something was stirring. In those days it was unheard of for anyone to challenge even a rubric or to use the word "reform." The questionnaire was therefore a bold move. In this case the proverb was proved true: "Fortune favors the brave."[4]

Bugnini added: it "encouraged scholars to direct their researches to the goal of practical reform"[5] — in other words, it was a discreet signal to the left of the Liturgical Movement to begin agitating for particular changes. But, he said, "the questionnaire was not a front for secret maneuvering" — which in Bugnini-speak (as we shall soon see) means that it was. And it had an immediate effect.

**2. Jungmann's Dream.** One recipient of Bugnini's questionnaire was Theodore Klauser, a member of the Liturgical Commission of the Fulda Bishops' Conference. Klauser immediately informed fellow commission members of Bugnini's initiative. They concluded "that an hour had struck in the history of the liturgy which could not be passed up."[6]

The Fulda liturgical commission met at Banz Abbey on 1–3 June 1948. According to meeting notes taken by Msgr. Johannes Wagner, Josef Jungmann had been "very quietly asked ... to present for discussion by the commission his thoughts for a possible reform of the Mass."[7]

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3. Johannes Wagner, "Zur Reform des Ordo Missae: Zwei Dokumente," LO, 263–4.
4. RL, 23.
5. RL, 23.
6. Wagner, LO, 264. "daß eine liturgiegeschichtlighe Stunde geschlagen hatte, die nicht verpaßt werden durfte." After Vatican II, Bugnini would appoint both Wagner and Jungmann to the Consilium Study Group 10, the small subcommittee directly responsible for creating the *Novus Ordo Missae*.
7. "Zur Reform," LO, 264. "in aller Stille... seine Gedanken für eine mögliche Meßreform der Kommission zur Diskussion vorzulegen."

In a series of meetings with the commission, Jungmann presented his ideas for a reform of the Mass — his *Traum im Herzen*, or "heart's dream," he called it. Jungmann dreamed of eliminating from the Mass multiple orations and kisses of the altar, reducing the number of genuflections, de-emphasizing the Consecration, reciting the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar at the sedilia, "contrasting" the Consecration with scripture, introducing "more scripture," inserting a prayer of the faithful, changing the Offertory prayers, shortening the Canon, eliminating some saints in the Canon, emphasizing the doxology at the end of the Canon, introducing a hymn of thanksgiving after Communion, putting the readings into the vernacular, and (possibly) allowing more vernacular.[8]

All these proposals were the logical consequences of Jungmann's corruption theory — that the addition of prayers and rites to the Mass over the centuries after the time of Constantine had debased or obscured a "primitive" liturgical ideal.

But what is even more important for our discussion here, Jungmann's dream Mass is essentially the Mass of Paul VI — in 1948. And since Jungmann, like Bugnini, will be intimately involved in formulating the liturgical changes both before and after Vatican II, we should understand from the outset where everything will be headed.

**3. The Commission is Appointed.** Meanwhile in Rome, a commission for liturgical reform was appointed on 28 May 1948. The first members were Clemente Cardinal Micara (Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites), Archbishop Alfonso Carinici (Secretary of the congregation), Fathers Ferdinando Antonelli (head of the congregation's historical section), Joseph Löw (author of the initial 1946 memo on liturgical reform), Anselmo Albareda (head of the Vatican library), Augustine Bea (Rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute and Pius XII's confessor), and Bugnini, who was appointed Secretary of the reform commission.[9]

The position of Secretary is the key post in any Vatican administrative body. Though the Prefect or the Relator (chairman) is theoretically in charge, the secretary actually organizes and supervises all the day-to-day work of the

8. See "Zur Reform," LO, 265–6.

9. RL, 21. In 1951 Archbishop Enrico Dante was added, as representative for the SC Rites. In 1960 four others were added: Msgrs. Pietro Frutaz and Cesario D'Amato; Frs. Luigi Rovigatti and Carlo Braga. Braga was a member of the same order as Bugnini, and apparently served as his full-time assistant on the Pian commission, even before he was officially appointed. He also served in this capacity for Bugnini on the preparatory commission for Vatican II and afterwards, in the Secretariat of Consilium.

department; he is thus able to influence in countless ways the policies or decisions that the department makes.

So Bugnini — the discreet supporter of the left wing of the Liturgical Movement — found himself in the driver's seat for a liturgical reform.

**4. The Memoria.** The reform commission, also known as the Pian commission, met for the first time on 28 June 1948. By that time Father Löw was in the process of completing his work on the *Memoria on a Liturgical Reform*,[10] which was published the following year and privately circulated to recipients designated by the Congregation of Rites. The *Memoria* would serve as a starting point in the discussion of the liturgical changes that would follow in the 1950s.

The *Memoria* is a lengthy work that discusses the rationale for beginning a liturgical reform, general principles that would govern it, the situation of the clergy, the state of the Liturgical Movement and related issues.[11] Much space is devoted to technical aspects of changing the liturgical calendar and the breviary.

A few points in the *Memoria* are of particular interest here because they hint at what is to come for the Mass.

Msgr. Wagner, who was present at the Banz meeting in June 1948, said that the author of the *Memoria*, Father Löw, approved of the desires for the Mass that Jungmann had articulated.[12] It is therefore not surprising to see Löw refer to the traditional rites for Holy Week — a perennial sore point for the adepts of the Liturgical Movement — as "a grave and pressing problem that absolutely requires some sort of solution."[13]

Löw's *Memoria* says that repeating the same scripture readings on the same Sundays after Pentecost every year has caused a "general sterility in preaching." It recommends allowing other scripture readings to be used, either as an optional supplement or as an obligation, and even suggests introducing a multi-year cycle.[14] Paul VI, of course, would implement the latter twenty years later.

As regards the Mass itself, the *Memoria* mentions, in fairly neutral language, "problems" raised by the Liturgical Movement during the preceding

10. SC Rites (Historical Section). *Memoria sulla Riforma Liturgica* (Vatican: Polyglot 1948), reprinted with supplements (Rome: CLV 2003).

11. For a good overview in English, see Reid 150–64.

12. "Zur Reform," LO, 264. "Diese Desiderate wurden von der Ritenkongregation, insbesondere von P. Löw, begrüßt.

13. *Memoria*, 59. "come un problema acuto e grave, che richiede assolutamente una qualche soluzione."

14. *Memoria*, 253.

years — the vernacular, participation by the faithful and various forms of the celebration (High, Low, Pontifical), but then mentions "the *internal structure* of the Mass itself,"[15] an issue that (as Reid points out) seems to appear without any further explanation.[16] The *Memoria* says little more about this "problem," except to say "it seems opportune" to defer consideration of this question and that of the Missal to a "second phase of the work of the Commission."[17]

But with the benefit of hindsight, it is not difficult to imagine what those involved had in mind.

After an initial discussion of the *Memoria*, the commission received permission from Pius XII to send it *sub secreto* (under terms of strictest secrecy) to three liturgists for their comments: Fathers Bernard Capelle, Mario Righetti and (of course) Josef Jungmann.[18]

**5. The Work of the Commission.** In the twelve years of its existence (28 June 1948 to 8 July 1960) the Pian commission held eighty-two meetings, and according to Bugnini "worked in absolute secrecy."[19] In his memoirs, Bugnini says that of the members of the commission "only the three full-time workers had a real desire for reform and a considerable knowledge of the liturgy." By these he seems to mean himself, Father Löw and (later) Father Braga. The other members, Bugnini said, "took part in the meetings more from a sense of duty, than from conviction."[20]

By default, then, the work of organizing, proposing and implementing a gradual but complete overhaul of the Mass of the Roman Rite fell into the lap of one man, Annibale Bugnini. There it would remain for twenty-one years, with one short interruption, until the complete destruction of the Mass in 1969.

We will now offer a brief survey of the eleven steps in the creation of the Mass of Paul VI, and watch the Catholic Mass slowly disappear before our eyes.

### 1. THE EXPERIMENTAL EASTER VIGIL (1951)

Holy Saturday was originally a day on which no Mass was offered. Instead, during the night from Holy Saturday to Easter Sunday, the Church

15. *Memoria*, 305. "*struttura interna* della Messa stessa." His emphasis.
16. *Organic Development*, 161.
17. *Memoria*, 305. "stimiamo opportuno rimandare la trattazione particolareggiata del Messale e della Messa in un secondo tempo di lavoro della Commissione."
18. Reid, 161.
19. RL, 22.
20. RL, 22n. Though the Jesuit Bea was no liturgist, he did in fact support the reform, as we shall see.

kept a lengthy vigil. The faithful watched the whole night in the church, and awaited the celebration of the first Mass of Easter, which concluded the vigil early Easter morning.

As Christianity triumphed throughout the world, there were fewer adult converts to be baptized, so interest in assisting at the great Vigil waned. This, coupled with various relaxations in the law of fasting, led in the eleventh century to gradually anticipating the Vigil ceremony on Saturday itself, until finally it started to be observed on Holy Saturday morning.

Over the years, bishops who supported the Liturgical Movement had repeatedly asked the Holy See for permission to celebrate the Easter Vigil at night on Holy Saturday. "Pastoral reasons" were adduced for the change in time (the Saturday morning services were not well attended) as well as "authenticity" (the prayers speak of "this night"), a concept we shall again encounter when we discuss the post-Vatican II reforms.

So, in February 1951, the Holy See issued a decree permitting, experimentally and for a period of one year, the celebration of the Easter Vigil at night on Holy Saturday.

In and of itself, merely allowing this practice would not have been particularly objectionable. But Bugnini and company seized the occasion to introduce changes into the *rites themselves*. So secret was the work of his commission on this project, Bugnini says, "that the publication of the *Renewed Ordo for Holy Saturday* at the beginning of March 1951 caught even the officials of the Congregation of Rites by surprise."[21]

The surprise of Bugnini's (theoretical) superiors seems to be reflected in the content of the decree by which they promulgated the *Renewed Ordo*; it is mainly devoted to discussing the change of time, and mentions, almost as an afterthought, "the rubrics that follow."[22]

But these changes in the rites for the Vigil were in fact quite extensive: the blessing prayers for the Easter fire are reduced from three to one, a new ceremony for inscribing the Paschal candle was introduced, the triple candle used to bring the Easter fire into the church was abolished, the clergy and people are supposed to carry candles, the number of prophecies is reduced from twelve to four, the celebrant sits and listens to the readings, he chants the Collects at the sedilia, a pause for prayer is introduced after *Flectamus genua* in the orations, the baptismal water is blessed in the sanctuary facing the people (rather than in the baptistery), the Litany is divided into two and abbreviated, all present recite a "Renewal of Baptismal Vows," and Psalm 42

21. RL, 25. "colse di sorpresa gli stessi ufficiali della Congregazione dei Riti."

22. See SC Rites Decree *Dominicae Resurrectionis Vigiliam*, 9 February 1951, AAS 43 (1951), 128–9.

and the Last Gospel are dropped from the Mass.[23]

All this was portrayed as a restoration of antiquity, just as features of the *Novus Ordo* would be two decades later, but the claim was equally phony. The ancient Easter Vigil went from sundown on Holy Saturday to dawn on Easter Sunday (it was called the *pannuchia*, from the Greek for "all night") and consisted of a seemingly endless series of readings, chants, prayers and litanies spread throughout the night. In Rome the readings were chanted in Latin, and then again in Greek; the petitions in the Litany of the Saints were repeated *seven* times. All this was interspersed with lengthy baptismal, confirmation and ordination rites.[24] Since there were no pews in churches, moreover, the laity endured all this *standing*. So, the number of readings in the 1951 "restoration" should have been *tripled* to, say, thirty-six, rather than *reduced* to a mere four. And laymen holding burning candles? Wax in ancient times was a precious commodity, and laymen would contribute candles to the church for its support. In the early Church, handing out candles for laymen to burn would have been like me asking my suburban parishioners to burn twenty-dollar bills. Not likely.

In fact, however, in the 1951 Easter Vigil we see some principles and practices that, eighteen years later, will be imposed across the board in Paul VI's *Novus Ordo Missae*: abbreviating rites (three prayers to one; twelve prophecies to four), inventing new rites (inscribing the candle, people carrying candles, renewing baptismal vows), facing the people for ceremonies (for blessing the baptismal water), reducing actions of the priest (he sits and listens), lopping off parts of the Order of Mass, and of course, reciting liturgical prayers in the vernacular (the Vigil lessons and the baptismal vows).

It is therefore easy to understand why Bugnini would proclaim in 1955 that the 1951 Easter Vigil was "the first step to a general liturgical renewal,"[25] and why the old modernist Dom Beauduin would hail it as "a point of arrival" and "a point of departure."[26]

## 2. SIMPLIFIED RUBRICS (1955)

These changes, known as "The Reduction of the Rubrics to a Simpler Form," were promulgated in March 1955 and primarily affected the liturgical

23. For a comparison of the old and new Vigil rites in parallel column format, see Herman Schmidt, *Hebdomada Sancta* (Rome: Herder 1956) 1:118ff.

24. One year, we arranged to have priestly ordination conferred during our Easter Vigil. The Vigil lasted six and a quarter hours; had tonsure, four minor orders, subdiaconate and diaconate also been conferred, there is no telling how long it would have taken.

25. A. Bugnini and C. Braga, *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus: Commentarium* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche 1956), 5.

26. Quoted in Reid, 179.

calendar, the Divine Office, and the number of Collects the priest recited at Mass.[27]

The introduction (the work of Bugnini) states that the changes put into practice the proposals of the 1948 *Memoria*. The classification system for feasts was reworked to downgrade the lower-ranking feasts,[28] and to upgrade the rank of Sundays.[29] Various prayers recited before, during and after the Divine Office were suppressed,[30] as were the seasonal Collects and Proper Last Gospels at Mass.

On the traditional calendar, more-important feasts are often preceded by a Vigil; the 1955 changes suppressed ten of these.

One particularly significant change was the suppression of Octaves — a commemoration of a major feast that continues throughout the week following the feast itself. The 1955 decree suppressed fourteen octaves, of which *nine* dated to the seventh and eighth centuries, among them, the Octaves of the Epiphany, the Ascension and the Assumption.

Most traditionalists, clergy and laity alike, are not attuned to the finer points of liturgical history and ritual practice, and may be inclined to dismiss all the foregoing changes as inconsequential.

Not so the men who created them. This simplification of the rubrics, Bugnini said at the time, was "the second chapter of a general liturgical reform which has been going on for some years."[31] He was quite open about the long-term goals of the process:

> We are concerned with "restoring" [the liturgy]... [making it] *a new city in which the man of our age can live and feel at ease...*[32]

— a comment, to be sure, with which no traditional Catholic could "feel at ease." The 1955 changes constitute a "turning point" for the Roman Rite:

> No doubt it is still too early to assess the full portent of this document, which marks an important turning point in the history of the rites of the Roman liturgy...[33]

They indicate where the reform will ultimately lead, are a "bridge" towards this future, and represent only a "step" towards more far-reaching liturgical changes.

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27. SC Rites, Decree *Cum Nostra Hac Aetate*, 23 March 1955, AAS 47 (1955), 218–24.
28. Semi-Double feasts became Simplexes, and the rank of Semi-Double was suppressed.
29. From Semi-Double to Double.
30. Paters, Aves, and Credos before. The Preces (with two exceptions), the Suffrage of the Saints, the Commemoration of the Cross during. The Antiphon of Our Lady, except after Compline.
31. *Simplification of the Rubrics* (Collegeville MN: Doyle and Finnegan 1955), 18.
32. *Simplification of the Rubrics*, 22. My emphasis.
33. Ibid. 21–2.

> The present decree has a contingent character. It is essentially a bridge between the old and the new, and if you will, an arrow indicating the direction taken by the current restoration...[34]

> The simplification does not embrace all areas which would deserve a reform, but *for the moment only* the things that are easiest and most obvious and with an immediate and tangible effect... In the simplification, being *a "bridge" between the present state and the general reform,* compromise was inevitable...[35]

Bugnini's assistant, Braga, said that the simplified rubrics of 1955 were "a type of prelude, as it were, to the liturgical renewal which was already being prepared, certain principles of which were then put into practice."[36]

Traditionalists who propose conspiracy theories about the activities of the Church's enemies are used to being dismissed as paranoid cranks. But in 1955, Bugnini was straightforwardly inviting supporters of the liturgical revolution to work together with him to achieve their common goal.

> Those who are eager for a more wholesome, realistic liturgical renewal are once more — I should say — almost invited, tacitly, to *keep their eyes open* and make an accurate investigation of the principles here put forward, to see their possible applications...

> More than in any other field, a reform in the liturgy must be the fruit of an intelligent, *enlightened collaboration of all the active forces.*[37]

### 3. THE NEW HOLY WEEK (1955)

The enlightened collaboration of all the active forces produced yet another reform later that same year when, on 16 November 1955, the Holy See promulgated the *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus* — the Renewed Order for Holy Week.[38]

The justification offered for this reform was essentially three-fold: (1) authenticity, (2) conformity to ancient traditions, and (3) pastoral fruitfulness. These themes are ones that the same liturgical reformers will repeatedly sound after Vatican II, when "authenticity" will mean destroying the mystical or the symbolic, when "conformity to ancient traditions" will mean selecting only those ancient practices that can be twisted to serve modernist theology

34. Ibid. 19.
35. Ibid. 21. My emphasis.
36. *In Novum Codicem Rubricarum*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche 1960), 211. "Exstitit ergo quasi praeludium quoddam ad generalem instaurationem, quae iam parabatur, et cuius principia quaedam in praxim tunc reducta fuerunt."
37. *Simplification of the Rubrics*, 24. My emphasis.
38. SC Rites, Decree *Maxima Redemptionis,* 16 November 1955, AAS 47 (1955), 838–41.

and when "pastoral fruitfulness" will mean inventing didactic rites, aimed at the lowest common denominator, that turn the Mass into a classroom.

With the benefit of hindsight, we can look back at the 1955 Holy Week changes and see yet another series of incremental changes put into place that will be permanently incorporated in the *Novus Ordo*. Here are some of the details.[39]

**1. Palm Sunday.** In the traditional rite, the priest blesses the palms at the altar in a "dry Mass" (a ceremony that follows the structure of a Mass). The procession follows, and then the Mass proper at which the Passion is chanted. The dry Mass is a survival of the practice in Rome where the pope blessed the palms at Mass in one church, went in procession to another, and offered a second Mass there.

In the 1955 rite, the dry Mass (Introit, Collect, Epistle, Responsory, Gospel, Preface and Sanctus) is gone. The priest blesses the palms not at the altar, but at a table, behind which he stands "facing the people." Instead of violet vestments, red vestments are used, as in the *Novus Ordo*. Only one blessing prayer is used; in the old rite there were five.

For the procession, the reformers abolished the mystical ceremony at the church door — the alternating choirs inside and outside the church, and the knocking on the door, symbolizing Christ seeking entrance into the Holy City. After the procession in the new rite, the priest chants the final Collect facing the people, with his back to the tabernacle.

The Prayers at the Foot of the altar disappear entirely from the Mass, and the priest ascends the altar to incense it. If there are other ministers to assist, the celebrant does not read the Scripture readings himself, but sits at the bench to listen to them. The anointing at Bethany is omitted from the beginning of the Passion, and the setting of the guard at the tomb is omitted from the end. The Last Gospel of the Mass is suppressed.

As with the 1951 Easter Vigil, we see changes here that will resurface in the Mass of Paul VI: abolishing mystical ceremonies, conducting rites "facing the people," curtailing the number of blessing prayers, reducing the priest's role to a passive one during the Scripture readings,[40] removing penitential prayers from the beginning of Mass because another ceremony has preceded it, and finally, abolishing the Last Gospel.

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39. For a side-by-side comparison of the traditional Holy Week rites and those of the 1955 reform, see Schmidt, *Hebdomada Sancta*, volume 1.

40. Pope St. Pius V laid down the requirement that the priest recite all the Scripture readings.

**2. Maundy Thursday.** The 1955 Ordo for Holy Week moved the celebration of the Mass of the Lord's Supper to the evening. This in itself is not objectionable.

But once again, there are ritual changes. The Creed and the Last Gospel are omitted, and a Responsorial Psalm (a practice that will become an integral part of the *Novus Ordo*) is supposed to be sung during the reception of Communion. The Maundy ceremony (washing of the feet) is inserted into the rite of Mass itself, and the Collect following the Maundy is to be recited "facing the people."[41]

The traditional practices of an elaborately decorated Repository and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament until it is removed during the Good Friday service are abolished. The 1955 rite (like the *Novus Ordo*) recommends "severity" in the decorations for the repository and prescribes that adoration be ended at midnight — when even the flowers must be removed.

**3. Good Friday.** This day originally had no liturgical service. No Mass was celebrated because, as Pope Innocent I explained in the fifth century, it was a day on which "the Apostles hid themselves for fear of the Jews."

Eventually, however, the Church did institute a liturgical service for this day, which in the traditional rite consists of a Mass of the Catechumens, Solemn Orations, the Adoration of the Cross, and the Mass of the Presanctified. During the latter, the priest brings the sacred Host back from the repository, and performs some of the rites of the Mass at the altar (including an elevation), after which he consumes the Host.

The 1955 rite is a Communion service. The first part of the service is conducted from the sedilia, rather than from the altar, and once again, if a minister chants a scripture reading, the celebrant listens passively.

The celebrant, wearing a cope rather than a chasuble and flanked by the sacred ministers, chants the Solemn Orations from a book positioned directly in the *center* of the altar, an anomaly in the Roman Rite.

In the 1955 service, the Solemn Orations underwent their first series of changes in the cause of ecumenism: The Prayer for Heretics and Schismatics has been renamed the Prayer for the Unity of Christians. Where the old rite directs that *no* genuflection be made in the prayer for the Jews, the new prayer directs that a genuflection be made, because the omission was considered "anti-Semitic."

The 1955 rite introduces a new option, also found in the *Novus Ordo*,

41. The 1955 rites introduced special texts for the Chrism Mass at which the bishop consecrates the holy oils for the year. The new rubrics prescribe that the Creed and the Last Gospel be omitted at this Mass.

for the adoration of the Cross. The priest, standing on the top step, holds the cross aloft, and the people adore it in silence, rather than coming to the communion rail to kiss it.

All the mystical ceremonies of the Mass of the Presanctified were abolished. There is no Solemn Procession from the repository with the Blessed Sacrament, with the singing of the *Vexilla Regis.* The people recite the entire Pater Noster with the priest — a practice that utterly contradicts the liturgical tradition of the Roman Rite, as we shall see. The simple communion rite from the Roman Ritual is followed, and all may receive Communion. Once again, a Responsorial Psalm may be sung during Communion. At the end, the book is placed in center of altar and three concluding orations sung.

**4. Holy Saturday.** The 1955 rite is essentially the same as the experimental rite for the Easter Vigil introduced in 1951.

In 1955, however, celebrating the rite during the night was made *mandatory.* This destroyed or rendered moot a whole host of popular devotional customs that had come to be observed on Holy Saturday in various Catholic countries throughout the world (especially the Spanish-speaking ones), a precious link between liturgy and life.

**5. Bugnini's Assessment.** What to make of all these changes in the rites for the most sacred week of the Church's liturgical year? At the very beginning of his lengthy 1956 commentary on the new Holy Week rites, Bugnini states openly once again that it is one more step in a long process of "liturgical renewal":

> The decree "Maxima redemptionis nostrae mysteria," promulgated by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on 16 November 1955 is the third step towards a general liturgical renewal: the *first* is the solemn Easter Vigil (1951); the *second*, the simplified rubrics (1955) the *third*, the Order for Holy Week.[42]

## 4. THE INSTRUCTION ON SACRED MUSIC (1958)

Three popes in the twentieth century had promulgated documents addressing the question of sacred music: Pius X (*Tra le sollicitudini,* 1903), Pius XI (*Divini cultus,* 1928) and Pius XII (*Musicae Sacrae Disciplinae*, 1955).

In view of these pronouncements, the Sacred Congregation of Rites

42. A. Bugnini and C. Braga, *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus Commentarium* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche 1956), 4. "Decretum 'Maxima redemptionis nostrae mysterium,' die 16 novembris 1955 a S.C. Rituum promulgatum, tertius est gressus erga instaurationem liturgicam generalem; *primus* est solemnis vigilia paschalis (a. 1951); *secundus*, rubricae simplificatae (1955); *tertius*, Ordo hebdomadae sanctae."

decided to issue an instruction on sacred music in order to define terms, to codify previous ecclesiastical laws and to establish some new regulations. Work on the instruction was completed in 1958, when Pius XII was already gravely ill, and it was promulgated on 3 September 1958, about a month before his death.[43]

The resulting document was a lengthy and systematic treatment of the nature and importance of sacred music in the liturgy, and contains many excellent points. It insists on the need for a true "sacredness" in the qualities of the music used in the liturgy. It encourages teaching the faithful to sing High Mass, beginning with the short responses, then the Ordinary and then even the Propers. (!) It praises the use of the Missal by the faithful, and commends the practice of celebrating Vespers in parishes. It forbids recorded music, as well as the "synchronized" Masses[44] that some in the Liturgical Movement were promoting.

**1. Advancing the Revolution.** Unfortunately, instead of limiting its scope to musical questions, the Instruction also implemented or encouraged more practices which further advanced the modernist program:

(1) The Instruction allows the congregation at Low Mass to participate by making vocal responses together to the various prayers the priest recites.[45] This innovation, called the "Dialogue Mass," was virtually unknown in English-speaking countries, but the Liturgical Movement in France and Germany promoted it widely in those countries, beginning in the 1930s.

The Instruction allows four "degrees" of vocal participation for the faithful at Low Mass: (a) The short responses, such as *Amen, Et cum spiritu*, etc. (b) The servers' responses, together with the *Domine, non sum dignus* at Communion, (c) The Ordinary of the Mass (Gloria, etc.) together with the priest, including the Pater Noster, and (d) The Propers of the Mass (Introit, Gradual, etc.) along with the priest.

When all four of these degrees are implemented, all members of the congregation recite aloud the Prayers at Foot of Altar, the Confiteor, the Introit, the Kyrie, the Gloria, all short responses (*et cum spiritu tuo*, Amen, etc.), the Gradual, the Alleluia verse, the Sequence, the Tract, the Credo, the Offertory Verse, the *Suscipiat*, the Sanctus, the Pater Noster, the Agnus Dei, the *Domine non sum dignus*, the Communion verse, and all the responses at the end of Mass.

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43. SC Rites, Instruction *De Musica Sacra*, 3 September 1958, AAS 50 (1958), 630–3.
44. Priests simultaneously offering Masses on multiple altars in the same church, and reciting the prayers in unison with one another.
45. §31.

Seen in light of the history of the Mass all this is a complete innovation in the fullest sense of the term because: (a) The people *recite* responses at a Dialogue Mass, whereas in the early Church the people *sang* responses. (b) Many of the prayers that the people recite at a Dialogue Mass (e.g., the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, the Pater Noster, the Gradual) were historically never recited *or* sung by the congregation; they were either *apologiae* (prayers in which the priest protested his own unworthiness) or other prayers reserved to the clergy, or complicated chants sung by a trained choir.

The resulting change the Dialogue Mass introduces into the traditional Low Mass is positively breathtaking. Instead of the customary devotional silence, you get endless racket — hundreds of people mispronouncing Latin. The principle behind all this activity is identical to the same false idea behind the *Novus Ordo*: there is no *true* participation without *vocal* participation.

(2) The Instruction allows a wider use of the vernacular in High Mass and could be used after the liturgical text where this had become customary (e.g., Germany).[46] It had hitherto been forbidden.

(3) It allows a lector to read aloud the Epistle and Gospel in the vernacular while the priest says them in Latin.[47]

(4) The Instruction allowed the possibility of making the Introit, Offertory and Communion chants into a "responsorial psalm" by adding extra psalm verses, and repeating the chants.[48]

(5) It introduced the role of a commentator: a priest, cleric, or "layman of good character" was allowed to deliver a simultaneous "commentary" in the vernacular on what the priest is doing at the altar.[49]

Liturgical publishers soon produced books that provided commentaries to be read at various points throughout the Mass and geared to each Sunday and feast day.[50] So, the "talking layman" appeared in various churches (my father's boyhood church was one of them) several years before Vatican II, after which he — and eventually, she — would become ubiquitous.

Thus in the 1958 Instruction on Sacred Music, despite its many excellent points, we see the fourth step leading to the creation of the New Mass.

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46. §14.
47. §14.
48. §26.
49. §96.
50. See Alfred C. Longley and Frederick R. McManus, *That They May Share: A Mass Commentary* (New York: Benziger 1960). I challenge any priest who celebrates the traditional Mass and who is skeptical of my contentions that the liturgical changes instituted under Pius XII were a trial balloon for the post-Vatican II changes to use Longley and McManus at his Sunday Low Masses slavishly for a month. You will clear out your chapel faster than your lay commentator "of good character" (see Instruction §96) can say: "The holy assembly of God's people now begins its worship with song..." (Longley, 1).

**2. And Pastor Angelicus?** At this point in our narrative, we can see the direction the liturgical changes are taking — and it is away from the magnificent ideals for the liturgy that Pius XII himself enunciated in *Mediator Dei*. Did the "Angelic Pastor" himself see this? If he did, why didn't he do something to stop it?

First, there was the character of Pius XII. While he was absolutely impeccable when it came to doctrine and theory, he seemed to lack the common sense necessary for making sound practical judgments. He was too credulous, too easily "wowed" by the appearance of great intellectual abilities,[51] too much a man with his head in the clouds.

Pius XII recognized that that during his reign the Church had plenty of rats in its walls — see his condemnation of the "new theology" in *Humani Generis*, and indeed, see the warnings to the Liturgical Movement he issued during his 1956 allocution to the Assisi Congress.

Unfortunately, Pius XII lacked the practical sense to be a sufficiently ruthless exterminator. Instead of personally preparing erudite discourses for visiting groups of gas distributors and fashion models (he was known to do his own research for papal audiences), he probably should have been over at the Holy Office, poring over the files of modernist theologians to drum out of the priesthood forever (Chenu, Schillebeeckx, Congar, de Lubac, Rahner, Balthasar, Murray) and ferreting out their prelatial sympathizers for demotion to hospital and orphanage chaplaincies (Lercaro, Roncalli, Montini, and a large chunk of the French and German hierarchy).

This lack of practical judgment, I think, blinded Pius XII to the disconnect between the teaching of *Mediator Dei* and the liturgical changes he permitted to be introduced during his reign. His adoption of a "policy of controlled concession,"[52] fit neatly into the long-term agenda that the leaders of the Liturgical Movement had already laid out.

Second, precisely because of this lack of practical judgment, one cannot discount the very real possibility that Bugnini and company pulled the wool over the eyes of the Angelic Pastor. We have already seen Bugnini mask his true colors in 1946 in order to promote the liturgical revolution, and we will see him deceive and dissimulate again for the sake of the cause. It is not hard to believe that he and his fellow revolutionaries hoodwinked Pius XII about what their real agenda was.

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51. Jungmann, of course, was an *Ur*-brain, if there ever was one, and it is said that Pius XII kept a copy of Jungmann's *Mass of the Roman Rite* on his desk. (See Day, 91.) The Jesuit Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, silenced for modernism by the Holy Office in 1925, was also regarded as a brilliant intellect. According to Professor Bernard Fay, this led Pius XII to carry on a private correspondence with Teilhard in an attempt to "convert" him.

52. Gerard Ellard, quoted in Joanne Pierce, "Pope Pius XII and Pre-Conciliar Liturgical Reforms," in Tuzik, ed., *How Firm... Leaders*, 275.

Indeed, Bugnini himself hints at this. After he tells us in his memoirs that the Pian commission worked in such secrecy that its 1951 Ordo for Holy Saturday caught even the Congregation of Rites by surprise, Bugnini drops the following tantalizing nugget.

> The commission enjoyed the full confidence of the Pope, who was kept abreast of its work by Monsignor Montini and even more, on a weekly basis, by Fr. Bea, confessor of Pius XII. Thanks to them, the commission was able to achieve important results even during periods when the Pope's illness kept everyone else from approaching him.[53]

The period of Pius XII's illness mentioned here began in January 1954; he had recovered by August, but by December 1954 was so ill again that his doctors thought he was near death. It was during this period of time that Bugnini and his allies were preparing the new 1955 Holy Week rites. Archbishop Montini (later Paul VI) and Agostino Bea (later a cardinal and premier ecumenist) will prove to be Bugnini's strongest supporters when Curial officials later have him fired for being a liturgical "iconoclast."

We now know with benefit of hindsight that these men were set on a course to ruin the Church. But if you are a gravely ill 79-year-old pope who is a bit credulous, and your trusted Jesuit confessor brings you a document to approve, telling you it is just fine because it was all put together by that smart, young liturgist Father Bugnini, what are the chances that you will say no?

## 5. THE NEW CODE OF RUBRICS (1960)

Over the course of many decades, liturgists had repeatedly urged that all the applicable rubrics for the Mass, the Breviary and the Calendar be consolidated into one unified code. Unfortunately, Bugnini and company would now take up implementing this otherwise reasonable and excellent proposal. They would seize the occasion to consolidate the first four stages in their ongoing liturgical revolution, and then introduce a fifth stage as a lead-up to Vatican II.

When John XXIII announced on 25 January 1959 that he would convoke an ecumenical council, a question naturally arose about what should be done about the new code of rubrics that had already been in the works for several years. The commission, with John XXIII's blessing, pressed forward with its work, and produced the Code of Rubrics of Roman Breviary and Missal (25 July 1960).[54] This resulted in the printing of a new Breviary in 1961 and a new Missal in 1962.

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53. RL, 22.

54. SC Rites, Decree *Novum Rubricarum*, 26 July 1960, AAS 52 (1960), 596–729.

**1. Additional Changes.** The new Code is long, thorough and well organized, and the rubrics are formulated very clearly. Unfortunately, it codifies the suppressions already introduced in 1955, and then adds more of its own.

We also find in the 1960 Code a different "style" of rubric, one that is instructional (e.g., speaking about the "purposes" of canonical hours or the role of the Mass in the Christian life[55]), or one that employs the language of options ("it is better that..." "it is fitting..."[56]).

In his extremely useful work on the changes in liturgical law, Father Thomas Richstatter calls this "the beginnings of a new type of rubrical vocabulary,"[57] and it is one that we will see employed throughout the Missal of Paul VI. He also observes that the Code contains the first direct reference he has found to the liturgical authority of regional bishops' conferences,[58] a concept that appears in Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and much post-Conciliar liturgical legislation.

The 1960 Code prescribed a new classification system for the feasts on the liturgical calendar; it is virtually indistinguishable from the system employed in the Paul VI Calendar.[59] "Redundant" or "non-historical" feast days are suppressed: the Finding of the Holy Cross, St. John before the Latin Gate, the Apparition of St. Michael, St. Peter's Chair at Antioch, and St. Peter's Chains. The list of downgraded and abolished feasts and observances is fairly extensive.[60]

The Divine Office was notably reduced: only short lives of the saints are read; the readings from the Church Fathers are reduced from six to one on Sundays, and eliminated altogether on most saints' feasts; reciting the whole psalter during a penitential week is rendered impossible;[61] and there are a host of other little subtractions.

For the Mass, the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar[62] and the Last Gospel[63] are suppressed on more occasions. The *Confiteor* before Communion is suppressed, as is the Blessing at the end of Mass if another liturgical action follows.

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55. See §§142, 145, 147, 270.
56. See §§142, 147.
57. Richstatter, 52.
58. In §117. Ibid. 53.
59. In the John XXIII Code, feasts are classified as First through Fourth class; in the Paul VI system, feasts are classified as Solemnities, Feasts, Memorials and Optional Memorials.
60. See Daniel L. Dolan, "The Pius X and John XXIII Missals Compared," http://www.traditionalmass.org/articles/article.php?id=18&catname=6.
61. To accommodate Psalm 50 on penitential days, the old breviary relocates the first psalm for Lauds to Prime, where is it tacked on after the first three psalms. This was done in order to come as close as possible to the ideal of reciting all 150 psalms during the course of a week.
62. Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, Rogation Days, and for certain consecrations in the Pontifical.
63. Any Mass with a procession following, for funerals, and certain consecrations in the Pontifical.

And there is another ecumenical note. In the prayer for the conversion of the Jews on Good Friday, the words "perfidious" and "Jewish perfidy" (*perfidis* and *judaicam perfidiam*) have been suppressed.

**2. A Preparation for the Council.** Far from being the apex of the liturgical tradition of the Roman Rite (as so many seem to think), the 1960–2 rubrics, breviary and missal are merely another temporary stage in the gradual dismantling of the liturgy. This much is clear from the Motu Proprio of John XXIII, *Rubricarum Instructum*, that promulgated the new Code of Rubrics:

> After long and mature reflection, we came to the conclusion that the more fundamental principles [*altiora principia*] governing a general liturgical renewal [*instaurationem*] should be laid before Fathers of the forthcoming Ecumenical Council, but that the above-mentioned improvements of the rubrics of the breviary and missal should no longer be put off.[64]

His "improvements," in other words, are a stop-gap measure designed to last only until the Council lays down the fundamental principles for changing everything.

The transitory character of the John XXIII reforms is also evident from the writings of Carlo Braga, the principal author of the 1960 Code of Rubrics.[65] In a 1960 commentary on the code, Braga says that, since the Fathers of the ecumenical council would treat only the general principles of liturgical renewal,

> [Having] the text of the rubrics already reduced to a simpler and systematic form will certainly make not a few decisions of the [Council] Fathers much easier.[66]

In other words, the rubrics have been simplified to make it easier for the Council Fathers to kill off the whole system. Alas, however:

> The present work of simplifying the rubrics, moreover, was not undertaken with a complete freedom, such that it would permit constructing a completely new edifice...[67]

Having seen the need to change all the liturgical books once the Council is

64. Motu Proprio *Rubricarum Instructum* 25 July 1960, AAS 52 (1960), 594.

65. Braga was also the author of the 1969 General Instruction on the New Mass, a work many traditionalists consider heretical.

66. *In Novum Codicem*, 221. "Immo textus rubricarum iam ad simpliciorem et systematicam formam redactus nonnullas Patrum determinationes faciliores certo reddet."

67. *In Novum Codicem*, 222. "Aliis: hodiernum quoque opus simplificationis rubricarum viam prae se omnino liberam non habuit, quae aedificationem novam permitterit, quamvis a traditione non alienam."

> over, and to put its decisions into effect, it seemed prudent not to compel all the clergy to change those books now as well.[68]

Once again, the John XXIII changes are seen as nothing more than a temporary expedient until all the liturgical books could be changed after the Council.

So, we come to the end of the fifth step towards the New Mass, and discover that, far from being what Archbishop Lefebvre called *la Messe de toujours* — the Mass of All Time — the Mass of John XXIII was from the start nothing more than *la Messe de passage* — designed to pass away once the reformers cooked up something entirely new.

The cherry on top of stage five would come on 13 November 1962 when John XXIII, on impulse, tampered with the sacrosanct Roman Canon by inserting the name of St. Joseph into the list of saints. This was a radical break with tradition, because liturgical tradition dictated that only martyrs could be mentioned in the Canon, and the Holy See had rejected this proposal several times since 1815.

If you can tamper with the Canon, *nothing* in the Mass is untouchable.

**3. Precedents Established 1948–1962.** Before turning to the next step in the creation of the New Mass, we will pause to sum up the precedents or principles that the reformers have established so far:

(1) Liturgy must follow the "pastoral" principle, that is, it must be accommodated to the perceived needs of the faithful. In practice a priest who conducts a liturgical rite may be permitted to determine what is "pastoral" and what is not.

This, we note, is the first step towards undermining the notion of the liturgy as an act of worship regulated first and foremost by the laws of the universal Church — the "doctrine, discipline, ceremonies" concept enunciated by Pius XII in *Mediator Dei.*

(2) Vernacular languages may be used as an integral part of the liturgy, rather than merely as an adjunct.

(3) The role of the priest may be reduced. He no longer recites all the texts at High Mass, but listens passively while others read these texts. For other prayers, the priest's participation in a rite may be subsumed into that of the congregation. A vernacular commentary (even one given by a layman) may be transposed over the liturgical prayers that the priest recites in Latin.

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68. *In Novum Codicem,* 222. "Praevisa itaque necessitate omnes libros liturgicos mutandi, expleto Concilio, eiusque statutis in rem deductis, opportunum visum est clerum omnem non adigere ad eosdem libros nunc etiam variandos." Among Braga's suggestions: reciting the psalms on a two-week cycle, rather than one.

(4) Lay participation must ideally be vocal and must extend to the entire Mass, including parts of the Mass historically reserved to trained singers or the liturgical choir (e.g., the Propers, Sanctus), and parts of the Mass historically recited by the priest and sacred ministers alone (e.g., Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, Suscipiat, Pater Noster).

(5) New liturgical roles may be introduced, such as lector or commentator at Low Mass.

(6) Prayers and ceremonies may be changed to accommodate modern "needs." Ancient, mystical ceremonies may be suppressed. New, didactic ceremonies may be invented. Liturgical rites must be shortened. Lengthy prayers may be shortened or eliminated. Additional Scripture lessons prescribed for certain liturgical days may be omitted.

(7) "Needless duplications" of prayers (such as the multiple blessing prayers in the old Holy Week rite for palms) must be eliminated.

(8) The *Ordo Missae* itself is not sacrosanct and more recent additions to it may be omitted, such as the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, the Last Gospel and the Blessing.

(9) The Nicene Creed need not be recited on more solemn occasions.

(10) When Scripture is proclaimed the priest "presides" passively at the sedilia, whereas formerly at Solemn Mass, the priest's place was at the altar.

(11) Certain liturgical functions must be conducted "facing the people."

(12) Emphasis on devotion to the saints must be reduced by lowering the ranks of their feasts, reducing breviary readings about them, abolishing octaves for their feasts and generally, by giving precedence to the Temporal Cycle of the liturgy (Advent, Christmas, Pentecost, etc.), rather than to the saints.

(13) Liturgical texts or practices that could offend heretics, schismatics or Jews should be modified.

(14) Liturgical expressions of reverence for the Blessed Sacrament may be "simplified" or reduced, including decorations, continuous adoration, solemn procession and incensations.

(15) Even the Canon of the Mass may be changed.

## 6. VATICAN II'S CONSTITUTION ON THE LITURGY (1963)

Had John XXIII not decided to convoke Vatican II, the process of chipping away at the edifice of the Roman Liturgy would probably have continued at a more leisurely pace and eventually encountered opposition — indeed, some opposition to the reforms had developed already.[69] An ecumenical council, however, presented would-be reformers with an opportunity to accelerate dramatically the momentum of the process of change. And this

69. See Reid, 231. Cardinal Spellman of New York traveled to Rome in an attempt to prevent the promulgation of the new Holy Week.

could be done by getting control of the drafting process for the decrees on the liturgy that would be presented to the council for its consideration.

Once again, Bugnini would be in exactly the right position to push the revolution forward.

**1. Preparing the Draft.** On 6 June 1960, the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, Gaetano Cardinal Cicognani, was appointed President of the preparatory commission on the liturgy for Vatican II. The task of the commission would be to formulate the draft of a constitution on the liturgy for the council to consider.

On 11 July 1960, Annibale Bugnini was appointed Secretary of this commission — again, the key position in any Vatican department. The Archivist for the commission was Father Carlo Braga, who, in addition to writing the 1960 Code of Rubrics, had co-authored with Bugnini the commentary on the new Holy Week cited above.

The preparatory commission on the liturgy had 65 members and consultors, and 30 advisors, divided into 13 sub-commissions. Naturally, the "left" in the Liturgical Movement was heavily represented. The head of the subcommission on the Mass was Josef Jungmann — again, he of the "corruption theory," and the 1948 dream of a stripped-down Mass.

The Commission held three meetings between autumn of 1960 and January 1962. It had huge amount of material to consider and was given five months to prepare first drafts. Bugnini coordinated the whole project, and produced a volume of 250 pages.

On 11–12 October 1961 Bugnini convoked a meeting of eleven of the "more important representatives on the commission" in order to consider the first chapter of the draft upon which four other chapters depended. Among those present were Bugnini, Braga, Jungmann, A.G. Martimort, C. Vagaggini (who would write a book attacking the Roman Canon) and H. Schmidt (who collated all the material for the creation of the 1955 Holy Week). The meeting was held in secret, and as Bugnini records, led to charges that "progressives" had hijacked the preparation of the draft for the Constitution.[70]

The revised text was presented to a subsequent general meeting of the preparatory commission, and as a result Bugnini reduced it to 150 pages. In January 1962, the commission met for four days to consider more revisions. Based on these, Bugnini then wrote up the 40-page final draft of the constitution.

Before Bugnini's text could be presented to the Council, however, it had

70. RL, 31. A year later, once the Council had convened, Cardinal Ottaviani would accuse those who prepared the draft of having "a real itch for innovations in matters where they are not only not necessary or useful but can even become harmful."

to receive final approval from Cardinal Cicognani. Throughout the drafting process word of the "progressive" slant of the commission had circulated and provoked opposition. Church musicians and members of the Curia spread word that the preparatory commission was the "number one enemy of Latin." Liberals (such as the Americans Godfrey Diekmann and Frederick McManus) pleaded for the vernacular, while Cicognani had favored retaining Latin.

So on 22 January 1962, when the draft text was presented to Cicognani, he hesitated to sign it and delayed. Bugnini says:

> If Cardinal Cicognani had not signed the Constitution, the result, humanly speaking, would have been a real disaster. Everything would have had to be discussed all over again.[71]

But despite serious misgivings, on 1 February 1962 the Cardinal signed it anyway ("with tears in his eyes," it is said), an act that would have terrible consequences for the Church. Four days later, the Cardinal suddenly died. Signing the Bugnini draft was his last official act.

As Cicognani's replacement to head the preparatory commission, John XXIII appointed Arcadio Cardinal Larraona, a canonist with a reputation for conservative views. He thought that John XXIII's apostolic constitution on Latin, *Veterum Sapientia*, was a reproach to liturgists who favored the introduction of the vernacular into the liturgy. Larraona wanted to alter the text of the draft, and appointed a secret committee for this purpose. The task was entrusted to Father Joseph Löw, who had been one of the original members of the historical commission appointed in 1948, but by this time had become an enemy of Bugnini. But Löw died suddenly on 23 September 1962, an event which Bugnini says, "confounded the opposition."[72]

**2. Approval by the Council.** On 20 October 1962, once the Council had convened, Cardinal Larraona appointed a new conciliar commission on the liturgy. Pointedly, he fired Bugnini and refused to appoint him to the conciliar commission. Moreover, he got Bugnini fired from his position as professor of liturgy at the Pontifical Lateran University, and nearly got him removed from his job at the Pontifical Urban University. The basis for these dismissals, according to Bugnini, was the charge he was "a 'progressivist,' a 'fanatic,' and an 'iconoclast.'"[73] Bea and Montini, old allies of Bugnini in the 1950s who had key roles in obtaining Pius XII's approval of the pre-Vatican II changes, were now cardinals, and tried to undo the damage, but without success, for

71. RL, 36.
72. RL, 38.
73. RL, 41. "'progressista,' 'spinto' e 'iconoclasta.'"

the moment at least.

But while Bugnini himself languished, his work did not. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy that he had written received initial approval from the Council on 14 November 1962. (The question of permitting the vernacular for parts of the Mass, nevertheless, was hotly debated.) Various amendments and changes to the text were approved in 1963, during which John XXIII died.

Cardinal Montini was elected by the Conclave and took the name of Paul VI. On 22 November 1963, Vatican II gave the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy its final approval (2147 votes for, 4 against), and Paul VI promulgated it on 4 December 1963.[74]

**3. Contents of the Constitution.** Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* contains much orthodox terminology and recommends a number of praiseworthy things. It employed soothing language in order to reassure Council Fathers who were suspicious of or uneasy over the prospect of radical liturgical changes.

Thus we encounter statements such as the following: "No person may add, remove, or change anything from the Sacred Liturgy on his own accord..." "No innovation may be made lest the good of the Church requires it..." "New forms should grow organically from old forms already existing..." This, however, was nothing more than camouflage that the modernists used to get their revolutionary program in place.

In fact, liturgical left and right in the post-Conciliar Church will spend *decades* wrangling over the double-talk in the Constitution in order to demonstrate "what Vatican II really wanted" for the Mass — vernacular or Latin, adaptation or tradition, facing the people or facing "East," modern musical forms or Gregorian, stark walls or statues, and so on. But it is an argument that neither side can ever win — because it hinges on statements that are themselves ambiguous or equivocal, phrased in the language of "but" and "on one hand/on the other." Thus:

- "Sound tradition may be retained, *but* the way must remain open to legitimate progress."
- Latin is to be preserved, *but* the mother tongue is "frequently of great advantage," so its limits "may be extended," or it may be given a "suitable" place.
- Clerics "are to retain the Latin language" in the Divine Office, *but* the Ordinary may grant a dispensation to the rule.

74. For the text see Vatican Council II, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 4 December 1963, AAS 56 (1964), 97–138. Translated in DOL 1–131.

• Traditional musical forms are to be retained, *but* new forms and musical traditions from various parts of the world may be admitted.

• The traditions of sacred art must be preserved, and sacred images must be retained, *but* there must be restraint in their number and prominence, so they "do not cause confusion."

Both the Bugnini spin on this language and that of the conservative liturgist Msgr. Klaus Gamber is simultaneously "correct" and "incorrect," because it can mean anything.

The Constitution prescribes an overhaul for *all* the liturgical rites of the Church: baptism, confirmation, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, matrimony, funerals, and the breviary. Liturgical books are to be revised as soon as possible (§25). People should take part in all these rites by "acclamations, responses and psalmody" (§30).

Rites should be marked by a "noble simplicity," short, clear, within the people's power of comprehension and devoid of "useless repetitions" (§34). Allowance for "brief comments" during a rite should be made (§35.3). Certain "adaptation to culture of particular peoples" is permitted (§§37–40).

Again, who is to say when simplicity is "noble," when a rite is "clear," when a repetition is "useless," when comments are sufficiently "brief," or what level of cultural "adaptation" is "permissible"?

Chapter II of the Constitution contains the passages that pertain specifically to the Mass. The fateful one is §50: the Order of Mass must be revised in such a way to (1) bring out more clearly the nature of its parts, (2) "achieve devout, active participation of the faithful," (3) simplify the rites, "but preserve their substance," (4) discard duplications "added with little advantage," and (5) restore elements lost through "accidents of history" to "the vigor they had in the tradition of the Fathers."

The principles laid down in this paragraph are so broad and equivocal that they could and would be used to justify virtually any change in the Mass that would follow.

**4. The Work of Consilium.** When the Constitution was promulgated, the man who had written it was still on the outside looking in.

On 3 January 1964, however, Bugnini was summoned to the Papal Secretariat of State. There he was informed that his old friend and supporter Montini, now Paul VI, had appointed him as Secretary of a new commission: "Consilium ad exequendam Constitutionem de sacra liturgia" (Commission for Implementing the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy).

The fox was back in the chicken coop.

As president of Consilium (as the department came to be called), Paul

VI appointed Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro, known in some circles as "the Red Bishop of Bologna." Lercaro, a member of the left wing of the Liturgical Movement, subscribed to Jungmann's corruption theories and he advocated restructuring the liturgy to achieve "pastoral" ends.[75] And when Bugnini had been fired in 1962 for being an "iconoclast," Lercaro, together with Bea and Montini, tried to protect him. Hence, his appointment was a perfect complement to that of Bugnini.

Normally, the work of preparing modifications to the Church's liturgical rites would have fallen to the Sacred Congregation of Rites. But since conservatives who opposed the modernist program controlled the congregation, Paul VI bypassed it entirely by creating Consilium. This entity drew its personnel from all over the world, with fifty prelates as Members, 150 liturgists as Consultors, and still others as Advisors.[76]

Through a letter of the Secretariat of State on 29 February 1964, Paul VI gave Consilium far-reaching powers. It was to propose the names of those who would study and prepare the liturgical reforms, oversee and coordinate their work, prepare the first Instruction on carrying out the liturgical reform, apply the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy according to the letter and spirit of Vatican II and resolve any issues that arise.[77]

Finally, the letter made it clear that Consilium would be responsible ultimately only to Paul VI:

> Appeals of decisions... as well as the solution of particularly sensitive and grave or completely new problems, will be referred by Consilium to the pope.[78]

This protected the forces of liturgical revolution from the potentially less enlightened collaborators in the Congregation of Rites. With its independence thus guaranteed, Consilium set about its task of completely overhauling each and every liturgical rite of the Catholic Church.

Theoretically, authority in Consilium rested with the Cardinal President and its Members. Since these were higher-ranking prelates from all over the world, however, they met only infrequently. The real day-to-day work of formulating the new rites was done by the Consultors, who were divided up into subcommittees called "Study Groups," according to their areas of expertise.

In his lengthy memoir, *La Riforma Liturgica*, Bugnini lists the members of each group, so it is possible to learn which liturgist worked on what part of

75. See the analysis of his comments at the 1956 Assisi Congress in Reid, 246–9.
76. Bugnini gives all the names in RL, 907ff.
77. RL, 62.
78. RL, 62.

the reform, and then consult his writings for insights into the reform.[79]

In August 1966, another twist would be added to the story of Consilium when the Vatican approved the appointment of six Protestant clergymen to Consilium as "observers."[80] Once the New Mass finally appeared in 1969, conservative critics saw this as proof of Protestant influence on the reform of the Mass. Bugnini and others, of course, denied that Protestants had any role. But in 1967, before the controversy erupted, Mgr. (later Cardinal) William Baum, then executive director of the American Catholic Bishops' Commission on Ecumenical Affairs, said of the Protestants:

> They are not simply there as observers, but as consultants as well, and they participate fully in the discussions on Catholic liturgical renewal. It wouldn't mean much if they just listened, but they contributed.[81]

But as we shall see in Chapter 5, the participation of *professed* Protestants in the reform would have been mere icing on the cake in any case. Thanks to Bouyer, the theology behind the New Order of Mass will turn out be that of the Swedish Lutheran Yngve Brilioth.

**5. The Great Architect of the New Mass.** As Secretary of Consilium, Bugnini was once again in the driver's seat for directing the course of liturgical reforms. The Secretariat (or central office) of Consilium consisted of just three persons during its first year: Bugnini, Braga and Father Gottardo Pasqualetti.

In early 1965, less than six months after the first series of changes had been introduced into the Mass, Bugnini boldly announced one of the reformers' principal aims: to purge from the Catholic liturgy whatever impeded ecumenism.

> The love for souls and the desire to ease in every way the path of union for separated brothers led the Church to make these difficult sacrifices, removing any stumbling block that could even slightly present an obstacle or a cause for discomfort.[82]

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79. Bugnini's book was a bonanza of information. Getting at it, though, is a daunting task, since the book lacks an index and is nearly a thousand pages long. The English translation (Collegeville: Liturgical Press 1990) provided an index of persons, but this is of limited usefulness, since the subjects in the book require extensive cross-referencing.

80. Ronald Jasper, Massey Shepherd, Raymond George, Friedrich Künneth, Eugene Brand, and Max Thurian, representing the Anglicans, the World Council of Churches, the Lutherans, and the ecumenical Taizé community

81. Interview, *Detroit News*, 27 June 1967.

82. A. Bugnini, "Ritocchi ad Alcune 'Preghiere Solenni' del Venerdì Santo," *L'Osservatore Romano*, 19 March 1965, 6. "E tuttavia l'amore delle anime e il desiderio di agevolare in ogni modo il cammino dell'unione ai fratelli separati, rimovendo ogni pietra che possa costituire pur lontanamente un inciampo o motivo di disagio, hanno indotto la Chiesa anche a questi penosi sacrifici."

Bugnini's role so far has been remarkable: in the 1940s, he plots the liturgical revolution with his fellow modernists in the Liturgical Movement. In the 1950s, through his influential position on the Pian commission, he gradually introduces some elements of the modernist program. In 1960–1, he assembles the proposals for Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. In 1962, he writes the draft for the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. From 1964 onwards, he runs the commission that interprets the Constitution, chooses those who will help him, and implements the constitution he wrote by creating new rites. After the creation of the New Mass, he will run the Vatican Congregation for Divine Worship.

Bugnini will go from strength to strength until 1975, when he will be summarily removed without any official explanation. At the time, stories circulated in the traditionalist press that he had been unmasked as a secret Freemason. Bugnini denounced this as calumny, and the mainstream Catholic press dismissed it as typical conspiracy theory paranoia. Thirty years later, however, the story now seems to be accepted as true, and Vatican officials let it be known that membership in Masonry was indeed the reason: "It is certain," one of them said, "at least, as certain as anything can be in this world."[83]

Be that as it may, with the promulgation of Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, and Paul VI's installation of Bugnini as the key man who will implement it, we complete the sixth step in the creation of the New Mass. And now the revolution really begins to pick up momentum.

## 7. CHANGES IN THE ORDER OF MASS (1964)

In September 1964 Consilium issued its first major document to implement the Constitution on the Liturgy, the Instruction *Inter Oecumenici*.[84]

This Instruction introduced many practices throughout the Mass that the 1951–62 legislation had already allowed or prescribed in one way or another, and instituted some new practices as well.

The list of changes is fairly extensive: The celebrant does not read texts sung or read by choir, people, lectors, or other ministers. Psalm 42 is omitted from the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, and all those prayers are

83. Robert Moynihan, editor of the extremely well-connected mainstream publication *Inside the Vatican*, provided the following account, based on a conversation in 2009 with a Vatican official: In 1975 Bugnini left a briefcase behind after a meeting at the Vatican Secretariat of State. The monsignor who found the briefcase opened it to determine who its owner was, and discovered letters addressed to Bugnini, as a brother, from the Grand Master of Italian Freemasonry. The evidence was eventually passed along to Paul VI who approved Bugnini's dismissal. Bugnini was exiled to Iran as Apostolic Delegate. "The End of One Mystery," *Inside the Vatican*, 19 July 2009, http://www.insidethevatican.com/newsflash/2009/newsflash-jul-19-09.htm#top.

84. SC Rites (Consilium), Instruction (first) *Inter Oecumenici*, on the orderly carrying out of the Constitution on the Liturgy, 26 September 1964, DOL 293–391.

omitted whenever another rite precedes the Mass. Readings must always be proclaimed facing the people, and a lectern may be used. The Prayer of the Faithful is introduced. The paten is left on the altar at Solemn Mass. The Secret is said aloud. The last prayer of the Canon, the *Per ipsum*, must be said or chanted aloud. All must recite the Our Father with the celebrant, even in the vernacular. The formula for Communion is changed to: "Corpus Christi." "Amen." The Last Gospel is omitted, and the Leonine Prayers suppressed.

The vernacular could now be widely used even for liturgical prayers themselves. The 1964 Instruction allowed the vernacular for all readings; the Prayer of the Faithful; the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei; acclamations, greetings and dialogue formularies; the communion formulas; the Our Father, and the prayer following it.

The Instruction prescribed that the altar should be freestanding to permit celebration facing the people. The Eucharist may be reserved either on the main altar, a minor but "truly worthy" altar or another "special, properly adorned part of the church."

## 8. MASS FACING THE PEOPLE (1965)

In January 1965, Consilium issued the Decree *Nuper Edita*, which incorporated the changes mentioned above into the rubrics of the Order of Mass.[85] The Decree added two more changes: (1) Mass facing the people was explicitly permitted. (2) The priest must not conduct the Liturgy of the Word from the altar, but from a presidential chair.

## 9. FURTHER RITUAL CHANGES (1967)

Consilium issued a second Instruction implementing the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Tres Abhinc Annos*, in May 1967.[86] This established a new weekday order of Scripture readings and abolished all commemorations, both of which had been long-time goals in the Liturgical Movement.

The Instruction also introduced more changes into the old Order of Mass to bring it into line with the New Order of Mass, which was already in its final stages of preparation.

Thus the second Instruction reduced or eliminated many of the priestly ritual gestures: genuflections, kisses of the altar, signs of the cross, bows, keeping the thumb and forefinger together from the Consecration till after Communion. The host was to be left on the paten at the Offertory, rather than placed on the altar. The distinction between the priest's communion and

85. SC Rites (Consilium), Decree *Nuper Edita Instructione*, promulgating the new *Ordo Missae* and the *Ritus Servandus in Celebratione Missae*, 27 January 1965, DOL 1340.

86. SC Rites (Consilium), Instruction (second) *Tres Abhinc Annos*, on the orderly carrying out of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, 4 May 1967, DOL 445–74.

the people's communion was abolished. After Communion, the congregation should either observe a silent meditation period or sing a song of praise. The Blessing was placed before the *Ite Missa est*, and the *Placeat* was made optional.

The maniple was no longer required, nor was black for Requiems.

Finally, there was the Canon. It was henceforth to be said aloud, or even sung. And the recitation of the Canon in the vernacular was permitted, an astounding innovation at the time.

## 10. NEW EUCHARISTIC PRAYERS (1968)

Something still more astounding occurred on 23 May 1968 when Paul VI promulgated three new Eucharistic Prayers. These could henceforth be used in place of the venerable Roman Canon and will be discussed in Chapter 12.

## 11. THE NEW ORDER OF MASS (1969)

As the process of putting the traditional Mass into the vernacular and stripping it of its parts barreled along during the years 1964–8, Consilium was simultaneously engaged in creating the rite that would replace it.

Overhauling the Mass of the Roman Rite was a vast undertaking. Bugnini divided the work on the project into seven categories and assigned each to a Study Group made up of members who were considered experts in the subjects they would be examining (orations, chants, scripture readings, etc.).

The most important question was the form and structure of the revised *Ordo Missae* (Ordinary of the Mass), because this would also affect some of the variable parts of the Mass under revision.

Bugnini assigned the project of formulating the new *Ordo Missae* to Study Group 10. The initial membership, appointed in 1964, consisted of Msgr. J. Wagner (chairman), A. Hänggi (secretary), J.A. Jungmann, M. Righetti, T. Schnitzler, P. Jounel, C. Vagaggini, and P.-M. Gy. In 1967, they were joined by L. Bouyer, L. Agustoni, J. Gélineau and M. Patino.[87]

Some of these names, of course, are already familiar. The chairman, Msgr. Wagner, has already told us of his participation in the 1949 meeting "behind closed doors" (his words) at which Jungmann outlined his "heart's dream" for a stripped-down vernacular Mass.[88]

Study Group 10 began its work in April 1964, taking as its norm paragraph 50 of the liturgy constitution (written, of course, by Bugnini) — that the order of the Mass must be revised in order to "bring out the nature of

87. For biographical information on the members of Study Group 10, see Maurizio Barba, *La Riforma Conciliare dell "Ordo Missae,"* new ed. (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche 2008), 103–12.
88. See Wagner, "Zur Reform," LO, 263ff.

its parts," achieve active participation, simplify the rites, discard duplications, restore lost elements and to follow "the pristine norm of the Fathers."

The first fruit of the group's labor was the so-called *Missa Normativa* — what members of the study group envisioned as a normal form of parish Mass with a priest, server, congregation, lector, choir/cantor. In essence, this was what we now know as the *Novus Ordo Missae*, the New Mass or the Mass of Paul VI.

This rite was used for the first time on 20 October 1965 as a demonstration or experiment for the members of Study Group 10. Bugnini himself celebrated it.[89]

During the course of the Synod of Bishops in October 1967, the *Missa Normativa* was celebrated in the Sistine Chapel in order to poll the bishops present on their reactions. Paul VI himself was sick at the time and thus unable to attend. Most of the reactions from the Fathers appear to have been favorable.[90] Some members of the Curia voiced their opposition, but these objections seemed to have had little effect.

Once Paul VI recovered his health, Bugnini arranged for the *Missa Normativa* to be celebrated on three successive days (11–13 January 1967) in Cappella Matilde in the Apostolic Palace. Afterwards, a small group that included a handful of lay people presented their impressions of the rite to Paul VI.

Throughout 1967 and most of 1968, various proposals and counterproposals about details of the *Missa Normativa* circulated between Consilium, Paul VI and other agencies of the Curia.[91] Finally, after a private meeting held in the evening of 6 November 1968, Paul VI wrote in his own hand on the booklet containing the New Order of the Mass: "I approve in the name of the Lord. Paul VI, Pope."

Although this settled the form for the revised Ordinary of the Mass, the other study groups had not yet completed the work on the propers, which were all to be revised as well. So, the "Missal" of Paul VI, instead of comprising one book with all the constituent elements of the Mass, had to be published in parts.

The revised Calendar, the new order of Scripture readings and the *Novus Ordo Missae* appeared first.

On 3 April 1969 with his Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum*

89. The celebration took place at the chapel of the Maria Bambina Institute, 21 Via Sant'Uffizio. If you visit Rome, lay a funeral wreath there for the death of the Mass.

90. Traditionalists, particularly Lefebvre, would later claim the opposite, but Bugnini's detailed account (RL, 45–54) puts this to rest.

91. For a synopsis of eight schemas, see Barba, Appendix II, 706ff.

Paul VI finally promulgated his *Novus Ordo Missae*, together with a prefatory document entitled the *General Instruction on the Roman Missal* and the *Ordo Missae*. These were published by the Vatican press in a 171-page paperback booklet. The full Missal, with all the orations and a revised General Instruction would be published in 1970.

## SUMMARY

• The New Order of Mass promulgated by Paul VI in 1969 was the product of a long process of liturgical change that began in 1948, with the appointment of the Pian reform commission.

• Annibale Bugnini, who secretly supported the reform proposals of the "left wing" of the Liturgical Movement, directed the work commission and for two decades oversaw the process that created the New Mass. In 1975 he was suddenly removed from his Vatican post. The grounds for his dismissal was alleged membership in Freemasonry, a fact now regarded in the Vatican as "certain."

• At a secret meeting in 1948, Jungmann outlined his "heart's dream" for the reform of the Mass; this would be implemented in the 1969 *Novus Ordo Missae*. Jungmann became a consulter for the Pian reform commission.

• The 1951 experimental Easter Vigil was, Bugnini said, "the first step to a general liturgical reform." It introduced principles and practices that would finally be implemented across the board eighteen years later in the Mass of Paul VI.

• The 1955 simplification of the rubrics, Bugnini said at the time, represented a "turning point" for the liturgy, the "second" stage of reform, "a bridge to the future" in making the liturgy "a new city in which the man of our age can live and feel at ease." Those eager for a fuller "renewal" Bugnini urged to "keep their eyes open" because liturgical reform would require the "enlightened collaboration of all the active forces."

• The 1955 Renewed Order for Holy Week introduced another series of changes that would be permanently incorporated into the New Mass. The new Holy Week rites, said Bugnini in 1956, represented the "third step towards a general liturgical reform."

• The 1958 Instruction on Sacred Music allowed still more practices that would be incorporated into the *Novus Ordo*: the recitation by the people of the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass together with the priest, wider use of vernacular, lay lectors and commentators and the responsorial psalm.

• The 1960 Code of Rubrics promulgated by John XXIII, together with the Breviary and Missal (1962) that accompanied it were only temporary measures: because of "the need to change all the liturgical books once the

Council is over and to put its decision into effect, it seemed prudent not to compel all the clergy to change those books now as well."

• The liturgical reforms introduced before Vatican II in the years 1948–62, and the 1955 Holy Week rites in particular, established numerous precedents for practices or principles that would be implemented across the board in the Mass of Paul VI: the vernacular as an integral part of the liturgy, reduction of the role of the priest, vocal participation by the laity, new liturgical roles, changing prayers and ceremonies to accommodate modern "needs," omitting "duplications," omitting parts of the *Ordo Missae*, prescribing ceremonies "facing the people," de-emphasizing the saints, changing texts for ecumenical reasons, simplifying expressions of reverence for the Blessed Sacrament, and finally, even changing the Canon.

• Annibale Bugnini, assisted by Josef Jungmann, was the principal author of the 1963 Vatican II Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. While the Constitution contains much orthodox terminology and recommends some praiseworthy things, its creators deliberately salted it with ambiguous or equivocal statements (this, yes — "but" that too; "on one hand/on the other," etc.) that could later be used to implement radical changes. Hence, both the conservative and the progressive interpretations of the document are simultaneously correct and incorrect.

• For the Mass, the fateful paragraph in the Constitution on the Liturgy was §50. The principles it lays down are so broad they could be used to justify virtually any change.

• In order to bypass conservatives in the Roman Curia, Paul VI created a new agency to implement the liturgical changes, Consilium, and put Bugnini in charge of its operation.

• During the years 1964–8, Consilium implemented two series of interim changes in the traditional Order of Mass, oversaw the introduction of the vernacular throughout the Mass, permitted Mass facing the people, and introduced three new Eucharistic Prayers as alternatives to the Roman Canon.

• At the same time, a subcommittee of Consilium, Study Group 10, was at work formulating the New Order of Mass. The group consisted of twelve members, among them, of course, Josef Jungmann and Louis Bouyer.

• Consilium was assisted in its work by six Protestant observers.

• After various experimental celebrations of the proposed rite for the Study Group, the Synod of Bishops and Paul VI himself, Paul VI privately approved the New Order of Mass on 6 November 1968.

• On 3 April 1969 by the Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum*, Paul VI promulgated his *Novus Ordo Missae*, together with a prefatory document entitled the *General Instruction on the Roman Missal*. The full Missal with all

the orations and a revised General Instruction would be published in 1970.

Thus, in 1970 we arrive at the last step of the gradual process begun in 1948 — the final and complete destruction of the Mass of the Roman Rite.

Chapter 4

# Latin to the Vernacular: Lost in Translation

By the time the New Mass appeared in 1969, the process of putting the old Mass into the vernacular was already completed. Latin had disappeared from the Mass just about everywhere in the world.

From the moment this transformation began in 1964, conservatives and progressives argued over what Vatican II *really* meant when it dealt with the issues of Latin and the vernacular.

But on this question, as on so many others in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, both sides and neither side was simultaneously right and wrong. They were arguing over another vintage Vatican II formulation, written in the yes-but-no, on-one-hand/on-the-other style.[1]

So, on one hand, according to the Constitution, yes, Latin *is* to be preserved. But on the other hand, also according to the Constitution, no, Latin is *not* to be preserved — if giving the mother tongue "a suitable place" in some parts of the Mass may be "of great advantage to the people." Moreover, especially where "an even more radical adaptation of the liturgy is needed," a more "extended use" of the vernacular may appear "desirable."

The practical effect of this gobbledygook would hinge on who would interpret or define the terms *advantage to the people, suitable place* and *extended use*. And after Vatican II, of course, this was Bugnini (who wrote the Constitution), Consilium (which had the authority to interpret the Constitution), Paul VI (who backed up Consilium's decisions), and the national bishops' conferences (who, under the provisions of the Constitution, had the right to petition for the vernacular).

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1. The contested passages in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy are paragraphs 36, 54 and 40: "36. §1. Particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites. §2. But since the use of the mother tongue, whether in the Mass, the administration of the sacraments, or other parts of the liturgy, frequently may be of great advantage to the people, the limits of its use may be extended. This will apply in the first place to the readings and instructions and to some prayers and chants, according to the regulations on this matter to be laid down for each case in subsequent chapters..." (DOL 36). "54. With art. 36 of the Constitution as the norm, in Masses celebrated with the people a suitable place may be allotted to their mother tongue... Whenever a more extended use of the mother tongue within the Mass appears desirable, the regulation laid down in art. 40 to this Constitution is to be observed" (DOL 54). "40. In some places and circumstances, however, an even more radical adaptation of the liturgy is needed and this entails greater difficulties" (DOL 40).

Paul VI himself was an enthusiast for the vernacular. In 1969 he compared Latin in the Mass to "a thick curtain" that closes the Church off from children, youth and everyday affairs[2] — the image is borrowed from the "Fog Curtain" of Jungmann. Nor did he believe that a translation was a mere "substitute" for Latin; it was the voice of the Church.

> The translations now, however, have become part of the rites themselves; they have become the voice of the Church. The vernacular now taking its place in the liturgy ought to be within the grasp of all, even children and the uneducated.[3]

It was not right, Paul VI said elsewhere, "to make language more important than the mind's understanding, especially when it comes to divine worship and conversation with God."[4]

For Paul VI and the institutions involved with the reform, therefore, the definition of *suitable place for the vernacular* seemed to mean "wherever any Latin word appears." So by 1968, Latin was gone.

The emergence of a younger, neo-conservative clergy in the 1990s and the permission granted in 2007 to use the last version of the pre-Vatican II "Tridentine" Missal, however, revived a certain interest in using Latin in the liturgy. Priests who use the 1962 Missal, of course, celebrate the Mass entirely in Latin, but even run-of-the-mill parishes that use the Missal of Paul VI in the vernacular will now occasionally toss in a chant or a motet in Latin.

The use of Latin at Mass under these circumstances, it can be safely said, has nothing to do with doctrine, and everything to do with nostalgia, aesthetics and (in the case of the old Mass offered under the auspices of 2007 Motu Proprio) *atmosphere* — what Benedict XVI called "a sacrality which attracts many people."

Latin in this system is a little liturgical extra for those who find it to their

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2. Address to a general audience on the new Order of Mass about to be introduced, 26 November 1969, DOL 1762. "We are sacrificing a priceless treasure. For what reason? ... The answer may seem trite and prosaic, but it is sound because it is both human and apostolic. Our understanding of prayer is worth more than the previous, ancient garments in which it has been regally clad. Of more value, too, is the participation of the people, of modern people who are surrounded by clear, intelligible language, translatable into their ordinary conversation. If our sacred Latin should, like a thick curtain, close us off from the world of children and young people, of work and the business of everyday, then would we, fishers of men, be wise to allow it exclusive dominion of the speech of religion and prayer?"

3. Address to translators of liturgical texts, 10 November 1965, DOL 787.

4. Address to participants in an international congress on the study of Latin, 16 April 1966, DOL 815. "The Second Ecumenical Vatican Council in its wise decrees granted the use of the vernacular in liturgical rites whenever considerations of pastoral advantage required [it]. Since by their nature words express thought, it is not right to make language more important than the mind's understanding, especially when it comes to divine worship and conversation with God."

taste, instead of (or indeed even sometimes along with) *On Eagle's Wings*, Negro spirituals, Life-Teen Masses, or the Rite of EWTN. If you're not one of the people whom sacrality "attracts," well, that's fine too. Latin, a lot, a little or none, is merely one option among thousands, all of which are more or less equal in the post-Vatican II liturgical milieu. With pastoral liturgy, the consumer is king.

Now while taste and atmospherics may explain the increased popular appeal for a bit of Latin at Mass nowadays, this is not the reason why the Church kept the Mass of the Roman Rite in Latin for 1600 years. The use of Latin for the Mass was linked in one way or another to great doctrinal truths: the ineffable sacredness of the Mass, the unity of the Church's sacrifice, the immutability of the dogmas of the faith, and continuity in tradition with the past. Abandoning Latin for the vernacular, on the other hand, was associated with corrupting Catholic doctrine; historically the process was a way to spread heresy, falsify translations, and deny the objective value of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

With such doctrinal considerations in mind, therefore, we will explore the following topics: (1) The origin of Latin in the Mass, and some exceptions. (2) Doctrinal considerations on the question of Latin vs. the vernacular. (3) The initial complaints against the post-Vatican II translation errors. (4) Rome and the post-Vatican II mistranslations.

## THE LATIN MASS: ORIGINS AND EXCEPTIONS

The history of how and why Mass came to be celebrated in Latin has been the topic of countless scholarly works. For our purposes here, it will suffice to mention only a few points about this process.

**1. The Church Adopts Latin.** In the 1960s, one got the impression that the first Christians were ardent vernacularists in their worship, precursors of the post-Vatican II Gospel of Absolute Intelligibility.

But this was not the case. Our Lord followed the practice of the Palestinian synagogue when He worshipped, and the synagogue services of His time employed the vernacular at most only for the Scripture readings and a few prayers connected with them. All the important fixed prayers of the service were said in Hebrew — a language as dead in common usage then as Latin is today. Louis Bouyer (in one of his contrarian "Tertullian" moods, no doubt) said that if Christ had found the practice intolerable, He would have denounced it as relentlessly as He did the other empty forms which the Pharisees followed.[5]

5. *The Liturgy Revived: A Doctrinal Commentary on the Conciliar Constitution on the Liturgy* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press 1964), 96–7.

During the Church's first three centuries, Koinè Greek was the dominant language throughout the Mediterranean. According to one scholar, Father Angelus De Marco, the parts of the primitive Mass "could only have been presented in the Greek language, since Greek was then the ecumenical language of Christianity until the second half of the second century."[6] Note, however, that there is an element of conjecture here. And we cannot say whether each and every Christian who assisted at Mass celebrated in Koinè understood each and every word of it.

It is certain that Greek finally prevailed in Christian worship at Rome by the beginning of the third century. But by that time more Romans had converted to Christianity and the language of their everyday speech was *Latin*. In the middle of the century, Roman bishops and priests conducted their official correspondence in Latin.[7] Eventually it was used for some parts of the Mass. Latin was finally introduced into the Canon between AD 360 and 382.[8]

Absolute intelligibility twentieth-century style did not seem to be the rule here either, because the transition took place over a period of about 120 years, during which time the Greek used in the Mass ceased to be generally understood.[9] De Marco explains why the change took so long:

> Conservatism is characteristic of all liturgies, but especially of the Roman liturgy. In the Roman tradition, there was a great "hankering" for archaic cult-forms in which prayers, even for the priests themselves, would be incomprehensible... Then, too, fidelity to Apostolic tradition was synonymous with a sense of "changelessness." The Greek language was regarded as an untouchable heritage. Therefore, a transition might well endanger unity of [the Church].[10]

From the fourth century onwards, Latin was *the* language of the Mass in the West. The missionaries from Rome who brought Christianity to the pagan nations continued to offer Mass in Latin. When Germany converted to Christianity in the fifth century, Jungmann says that the idea of celebrating Mass in the local vernacular was not even considered. Latin was used.[11]

Countless other examples could be cited. And so it continued for 1600 years until Vatican II. When it came to the Mass, De Marco noted, the

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6. RV, 6.
7. E. Ranieri, "Il Latino, Lingua Liturgica," EL 65 (1951), 26, citing Theodore Klauser, Gustave Bardy and Christine Morhrmann.
8. RV, 22.
9. RV, 19.
10. RV, 19.
11. Jungmann, *Early Liturgy*, 206. The missionaries seemed to have been unaware of Jungmann's theories on "pastoral liturgy" and the Fog Curtain.

Church was "undeviating in matters of principle" and carefully preserved Latin as the special liturgical language in the West.[12]

In 1562, the Council of Trent in its 22nd Session reinforced that special position of Latin as a liturgical language when, in response to various Protestant heresies on the Mass, it issued an anathema against anyone who says "that the Mass ought to be celebrated in the vernacular tongue only."[13]

As late as 1955, Pius XII restated the position that Latin was the norm and that the vernacular was conceded but rarely, and then only for a serious reason:

> We are not unaware that, for serious reasons, some quite definite exceptions have been conceded by the Apostolic See. We do not want these exceptions extended, or propagated more widely, nor do We wish to have them transferred to other places without due permission of the Holy See... The law by which it is forbidden to sing the liturgical words themselves in the language of the people remains in force according to what has been said.[14]

Alas, in ten short years the exception literally became the rule.

**2. Some Exceptions.** The Church permitted, even encouraged, Eastern Rites united with Rome to retain the language and rites proper to their own traditions. On a few occasions, she even allowed the Mass of the Roman Rite itself to be celebrated in a modern language rather than in Latin; the permission was granted for a grave pastoral reason, such as spreading the faith in a missionary country or preventing inroads by the "Orthodox" schismatics.

Vernacularists, both pre- and post-Vatican II, used these exceptions as grist for the mill to argue that, if the Holy See allowed the vernacular in the past for particular cases, it could, and indeed should, allow the vernacular to be used more generally throughout the Church.

But in fact, the analogy behind the argument fails on two points:

(1) The languages in the Eastern Rites were certainly not all true vernaculars. Depending on the rite, the layman's level of understanding went all

12. RV, 93.

13. DZ 956. For an account of the discussions that preceded the condemnation, see Schmidt, *Liturgie et Langue Vulgaire*, 95–153; RV, 93–134; and Rochus Rogosic OFM, "De Concilii Tridentina Decreta super Antiquitate in Ritibus Retinenda," EL 68 (1954), 345–52.

14. Encyclical *Musicae Sacrae Disciplinae*, 25 December 1955, PTL 765–6.

the way from everything that was said to nothing.[15]

(2) When Rome permitted celebration of the Mass of the Roman Rite in the vernacular, the translations had to be slavishly faithful to the Latin original.[16] The nearly tiresome insistence on literal translations was directed at one end: preserving the integrity of the Catholic faith.

Post-Vatican II-style fantasy translations that routinely omitted terms intimately linked to Catholic dogmas (e.g., *grace*, Blessed Mary *ever* virgin, etc.) would not only have been rejected; the translators would have been hauled before the Roman Inquisition.

## LATIN VS. VERNACULAR: DOCTRINAL ISSUES

Over the centuries, liturgical scholars have explained at length the reasons why Latin, rather than the vernacular, should be used for the celebration of Mass. Because of the intimate relation between worship and belief, it is not surprising to see that most explanations are rooted in the need to preserve the purity of Catholic doctrine.

15. Cyril Korolevsky, *Living Languages in Catholic Worship: An Historical Inquiry* (Westminster MD: Newman Press, 1957), 66, summarizes the state of the question as follows: In rites in which the Mass was offered in Arabic, only the Melkites understood everything that was said in church, and the Copts understood only the Arabic part of their service. The Maronites and other West Syrians understood more or less the parts of their services that were in Arabic, and the Malankarese all parts that were in Malayalam. The Chaldeans grasped "at least the general sense" of what was said. Rumanians, Hungarians, Georgians and Albanians in Albania understood everything; the Greeks in principle understood everything, but it depended on one's level of education. The Russians, Ukranians and Armenians could follow those parts of the Mass which occurred frequently, but not always or even at all. Bulgarians and Serbs understood only the most ordinary parts of the service. The Ethiopians, Italo-Albanians and Malabarese did not understand the words of their services at all.

16. De Marco, *Roman and the Vernacular*, provides many examples: Pope John VIII wrote to the Archbishop of Moravia in 880, stating that there is nothing against the Faith in chanting the Mass and reading the lessons in Slavonic, "provided that they are well translated and interpreted" (RV, 40–1). In 1248 Pope Innocent IV authorized the Bishop of Segna to use Slavic in those places in which it was already in use, on the condition that the translation conform to the Latin text of the Roman liturgical books. He conceded the authority sought for in the bishop's petition, "provided that the meaning remains intact, despite the variety of languages" (RV, 45). In 1615 Pope Paul V allowed Mass to be celebrated in Mandarin, a cultured form of Chinese. The documents specified that the Mass could not be celebrated "in the vulgar tongue," and that the translation must "be faithful in the highest degree (RV, 61). In 1624 Pope Urban VIII gave permission for the Carmelites in Persia to offer Mass in classical Arabic "for the consolation of those recently converted peoples." The decree stated that the Roman Missal is to be "translated literally into Arabic," and that this translation must first receive the approval of Rome (RV, 81–2). In 1631 the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith allowed the Theatine missionaries in southern Russian to sing the Gospel and the Epistle in Georgian or Armenian after the Latin versions were sung, provided that they be "literal versions, and that they be not different from the Latin Vulgate or the literal Greek" (RV, 64).

**1. Reasons for Using Latin.** Since the Council of Trent, liturgical scholars have offered at least four reasons for Latin in the Mass.

(1) *Sacredness.* Latin is utterly set apart from everyday experience and conversation. This gives it a mystical character consonant with the mysteries of the Mass,[17] and manifests a "desire to distinguish between the sacred and the profane."[18] The theologians who prepared the Council of Trent's Decree on the Mass noted that the use of the Latin both preserved the unspeakable mystery of the Mass and moved the people to regard it with greater reverence and devotion.[19] In 1951, just as the campaign for the vernacular was beginning to gather momentum in the Church, an Italian scholar bluntly warned: "Substituting the vernacular tongue for Latin would 'cheapen' the Roman Missal."[20]

(2) *Unity.* The Tridentine commission observed that the Church embraced many peoples, each with its own language; she must employ a language which is common to them all, especially in offering the Mass, the Sacrifice of Unity.[21]

(3) *Unchangeableness.* Father Nicholas Gihr called Latin, "an inviolable sanctuary," due to its unchangeableness. Translations result in circumlocutions, interpolations, omissions, incorrectness, misrepresentations and errors; uniformity in worship becomes impossible.[22] One liturgical language, he said, is a means to preserve the integrity of the Catholic Faith. The Sacred Liturgy transmits the Church's dogmatic tradition, and the truths of the Faith can be established and proved from the Liturgy. Hence, the more fixed the liturgical formula of prayer, the better it is adapted to preserve intact and transmit unimpaired the original deposit of faith.[23] Latin is the living language of the unchanging Church.

In their report to the Council Fathers, the Tridentine theologians pointed out that using the vernacular would lessen the people's reverence for the

17. See Gihr's eloquent and lengthy explanations: HSM, 324, 326. Guéranger was likewise eloquent on the point: "The accents of a mysterious tongue echo alone throughout the holy assembly, and transport thought beyond the bounds of the present — even those who do not understand the tongue know something extraordinary is taking place. Soon the words of this sacred language are lost in the heart of a silence in which God alone hears. But the symbolic ceremonies continue still, and through their visible forms cease not to raise the holy people to the love of things unseen." IL 3:83.

18. Herman Schmidt, "The Problem of Language in Liturgy," *Worship* 26 (1951–2), 278.

19. RV, 115.

20. Ranieri, 27.

21. Le Plat, 4:394, quoted RV, 115.

22. HSM, 324.

23. HSM, 327.

Mass, and:

> It would be very dangerous, too, lest many errors would creep into the manifold translations which would be made, with the result that the mysteries of our faith, which are uniform, might appear diverse.[24]

Pius XII stated in *Mediator Dei* that the use of the Latin language is both "a manifest and beautiful sign of unity, as well as an effective antidote for the corruption of doctrinal truth."[25]

(4) *Tradition.* On this point, Schmidt said that it is a general law that man's worship holds fast to traditional forms; the sacred ordinarily inspires too much respect in man for him to dare to alter it, even if using older forms means certain inconveniences.[26]

Latin was the Church's living link with the past, a sign of her continuing fidelity to tradition. Latin was the language of the Mass in the Western Church for nearly 1600 years. St. Augustine used it when he celebrated Mass, as did St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, St. Augustine of Canterbury, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, St. Robert Bellarmine, the English Martyrs, St. Pius V, St. Alphonsus, St. Pius X, and the countless priest-saints in heaven.

When a priest intones *Oremus* and recites the Collect in the traditional Mass, therefore, he not only uses the same Latin *tongue* as the Roman saints of the fourth century — in many cases, he may be using exactly the same *word*s that they used. Latin is a sign that the faith of the Church continues unchanged.

**2. Heresy and the Vernacular.** Conversely, abandoning Latin for the vernacular is historically linked to heresy. "As *Pater noster* did build the Churches,"

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24. Le Plat, 12:753, 34–45, quoted RV, 123.

25. MD 60. In 1951, the Jesuit scholar Herman Schmidt said of this passage in *Mediator Dei*: "The terms used in the Liturgy, which make up nothing less than an authentic and privileged *locus theologicus* — more privileged than the testimony of the Fathers of the Church, since it remains living — possess an incomparable exactness. The fact that they are in a dead language constitutes a positive element which works in its favor, because it guards against the continuing changes found in modern languages." "The Problem of Language in Liturgy," 279–80. I recall reading in an older English translation of the *Summa* that the matter for the Eucharist was bread made from "corn," a word which in older times meant "wheat," but in common English today means "maize." In vernaculars, shifts of meaning are common, e.g., gay, mistress, intercourse, which once meant merry, a woman in charge of others and conversation, but now have entirely different connotations.

26. *Liturgie et Langue Vulgaire*, 189. Similarly, Fortescue, who says the "conservative instinct" in man explains why he is inclined to use a more ancient language in worship. The Jews continued to use Hebrew in worship after the Babylonian Captivity, even though it had died out in common speech. The Moslem, even though he speak Turkish, Farsi or Afghan in daily life, still reads his Koran in classical Arabic. The services of the Russian "Orthodox" are conducted in Old Slavonic, a language not used in daily life for centuries. "Rites," CE 13:68.

said a Catholic apologist during the persecutions in England, "*Our Father* did pull them down."[27]

Dom Guéranger said that the introduction of the vernacular is:

> one of the most important points in the eyes of the sectarians. Worship is not something secret, they say — the people should understand what they sing. Hatred for the Latin tongue is inborn in the hearts of all the enemies of Rome; in it they see a bond among the Catholics of the world, an arsenal of orthodoxy against the subtleties of the sectarian spirit, the papacy's most powerful weapon... The master-stroke of protestantism is to have declared war on the sacred language. Should it ever succeed in destroying it, it would be well on the road to victory.[28]

Similarly, Gihr said that attacks against Latin originated principally in a heretical, schismatic and nationalistic spirit, or in a rationalist spirit which spurned the notion of the Mass as a sacrifice.[29]

Why did heretics reject Latin and adopt the vernacular for worship? There were several reasons.

(1) *To Spread Error.* This should be the most obvious reason — public prayer as a tool for heretical propaganda.

Few laymen will bother to wade through a lengthy theological tome, no matter how well written it may be. To corrupt the Catholic faith in the heart of the average man, you have to reach him on Sunday in church, so you use a new form of public prayer to spread your new ideas.

It must therefore be in a language the average man can understand, otherwise he will still believe as he did before.

(2) *To Manipulate Translations.* The next step is manipulating translations to promote heretical ideas.[30]

In the sixteenth century, Tyndale's English translation of the Bible slyly attacked Catholic teachings on the priesthood, the Church, grace, confession and the veneration of images: thus, for *priest*, Tyndale's translation had *elder*; for *church*, *congregation*; for *grace*, *favor*; for *confess*, *acknowledge*; for *idols*, *images*, and so on.[31]

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27. Anonymous A.F., *Liturgical Discourse of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass* (1670), 52. "The devotion of the Catholic people in their Latin Mass," he added, "will in all respects surpass that of those who frequent the invented vulgar service."

28. IL 1:402–3.

29. HSM, 320.

30. It is a very old trick. Tertullian (+220) pointed out how translators of the book of Genesis mistranslated a key word, thus allowing the heretics of his time to attribute sins to the "Spirit" of God. See *Adversus Marcionem*, 2.9.1–2, PL 2:321. "Quidam enim de Graeco interpretantes, non recogitata differentia, nec curata proprietate verborum, pro *afflatu spiritum* ponunt, et dant haereticis occasionem spiritum Dei delicto infuscandi, id est, ipsum Deum."

31. Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (New York: Macmillan 1956) 2:144.

Similarly, Luther twisted the meaning of the sacred text in his German translation. Instead of saying Our Lady is *full of grace*, his translation merely says she is *gracious*. His translation of Baruch 6:30 is another bit of Protestant propaganda: "And the priests sit in their temples in their voluminous copes; with shaven faces and wearing tonsures, they sit there bareheaded and howl and cry aloud before their idols."[32] The original, of course, says nothing about copes or tonsures — Luther's aim was to compare the Catholic clergy to the pagan priests of Babylon.

(3) *To Render Sacraments Subjective.* In the case of Protestantism, insistence on the vernacular was a logical and unavoidable consequence of its heretical theology of the sacraments. The value of the Mass was not *objective* (the Catholic teaching) but only *subjective* — it merely "stirred up faith," or was a sign of God's promises, or a sign of union with Christ.[33] Therefore, the Mass *must* be in the vernacular. The words have to be intelligible to communicate thoughts, which in turn "stir up faith." Schmidt summed up the relationship between Protestant teaching and the use of the vernacular:

> Christian worship is a cult of the Word; the cult of the Word cannot be exercised with fruit by the community unless this Word is understood, that is, unless it is expressed in the vernacular language. Thus, Christian worship must be celebrated in the vernacular language.[34]

## POST-VATICAN II TRANSLATION ERRORS

When the process of introducing the vernacular got under way in 1964, educated Catholics complained about the awful, pedestrian language of the

32. See Hartmann Grisar SJ, *Luther* (St. Louis: B. Herder 1913) 5:512–8.

33. Luther, for instance, taught that the principal purpose of public worship was to spread the Word of God and arouse faith: "Christ should and must be preached in such a way that in both you and me, faith grows out of and is received from the preaching... And that faith is received and grows when I am told why Christ came." *Freedom of A Christian* (Weimar edition 7), quoted in RV, 96. "Liturgies must always promote faith and nurture love; they must never be a hindrance to faith. If they no longer serve these purposes, they are already dead and done for, and of no further value... No liturgy has an independent value in itself, though this is how the papist liturgies have been regarded hitherto." *The Lord's Supper and Order of Divine Service* (Weimar edition 19:72–8), quoted in RV, 96. For Luther the question of liturgical language "entered intimately into the basic foundation of his Protestant faith." John L. Murphy, *The Mass and Liturgical Reform* (Milwaukee: Bruce 1956), 310. Similarly, John Calvin: "Our Lord has recommended to us to celebrate the Mystery [Last Supper] with real intelligence... [T]he Sacraments take their value from the word when it is understood; without this, they are unworthy of the name of Sacrament. Therefore, it is necessary that there be an intelligible doctrine in the Mass, and that on the contrary, the Mystery is wasted, as if everything was made hidden, and nothing is understood." *Petit Tracté de la Sainte Cene de Nostre Seigneur*, in *Corpus Reformatorum*, 33:57–9, quoted in RV, 100.

34. *Liturgie et Langue Vulgaire*, 170.

interim translations. But it became apparent rather quickly that the translations were not only ugly, but also inaccurate by design, in order to advance the program of the post-Vatican II "progressives." Soon there were protests.

In 1968, Gary Potter took to task the International Committee on English in the Liturgy (ICEL), the Secretariat of the U.S. Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, and the U.S. Liturgical Conference. Potter complained that these bodies conspired, through the machinations of the notorious liberal Father Frederick McManus, to produce the falsified vernacular translations of the Roman Canon used in English-speaking countries.[35]

Protests like this were to no avail, even when brought to the attention of Vatican officials. After the Latin original of the New Order of Mass was promulgated in 1969, the process of falsified translations continued.

Father Jacques Dupuy lamented the appalling French translations for the New Mass. He hinted that the French liturgists bypassed the Congregation of Divine Worship (the Vatican department responsible for overseeing the reform) without giving the Congregation a chance to check out the accuracy of the texts.[36] He added:

> The Missal of Paul VI — the real Missal — presents no danger whatsoever to the faith. A priest who follows it faithfully will remain true to his faith. It is in the *interpretations* that the danger lies. Does the new Missal lead to an error on the level of faith? Or isn't it rather the disappearance or the lessening of the faith these initiatives bring about, especially the grave errors in the translation? That is the real question — and it seems obvious that the second alternative offers the sole explanation for the crisis.[37]

Dupuy observed that the official French translations suppressed allusions to divine transcendence, supplication, and the Divinity of Christ. They were directed at "leveling" everything and at "worshipping" man. The translations, he concluded, were both ambiguous and dangerous for Catholic dogma.[38]

Likewise, Christopher Monckton, former editor of the English Catholic newspaper *The Universe* and a Latin scholar, discovered 400 errors in the official English translation of the New Order of the Mass alone. In a lecture reprinted in the November 1979 issue of *Faith* magazine, he noted:

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35. See Gary K. Potter, "The Liturgy Club," *Triumph* (May 1968), 10–4. This article was widely circulated among Catholic conservatives at the time. I read it when I was a junior at a minor seminary. But even before that, with just a limited amount of Latin under my belt, I had figured out that the translations were "off."

36. *Le Missel Traditionnel de Paul VI: Essai de Réflexion Théologique, Canonique, Liturgique sur le Nouvel "Ordo Missae"* (Paris: Tequi 1977), 63–4.

37. Ibid. 67.

38. Ibid. 63–4. Jacques Maritain maintained that the French translation of the Nicene Creed was heretical.

> The errors display a common theme which reveals the intentions of the translators. That theme is the dilution or removal of allusions and references to those doctrines of the Mass which are specifically and peculiarly Catholic... The thoroughness and determination with which those teachings which distinguish Catholic beliefs from those of other Christians have been removed is demonstrated by the many minor omissions which are often repeated.[39]

In his 1979 book on the New Mass, Michael Davies devoted a 28-page appendix to some of these errors. He, too, trained his guns on Father McManus and the liturgical bureaucracy of the U.S. Bishops' Conference. Davies concluded:

> [T]he faithful in English-speaking countries are not simply denied the opportunity of assisting at the Mass of St. Pius X[;] they are not even able to assist at the Mass of Pope Paul VI except in the few places where it is celebrated in Latin.... What they are offered is best described as "the McManus Rite" for, with its four hundred errors in translation, some of which have serious doctrinal implications, it is no more than a travesty of the official Latin text of the *Novus Ordo Missae* which, in itself, involves a serious dilution of authentic Catholic teaching.[40]

The translation errors — intentional distortions, in fact — all went in the same direction: to advance the modernist theological agenda. Hence, language that reflected "negative theology," the gulf between the majesty of God and the lowliness of man, the holiness of the saints, ecumenical stumbling blocks, etc. was either eliminated or blurred.

Even fundamental concepts disappeared. For example, in the Latin texts of the orations for Ordinary Time (formerly Time after Epiphany and Pentecost) the word *gratia* (grace) appeared eleven times; in the official English translation, it did not appear *once*.[41]

Since the problems with the *Latin* version of the Missal of Paul VI are our primary concern here, we refer readers to the works of Davies and Oury for particular examples of translation errors. As of this writing, moreover,

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39. Quoted in Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass* (Dickinson TX: Angelus Press 1980), 617–8.
40. *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 621.
41. In addition to criticisms based on doctrinal considerations, I would add the following: the utter *malice* that the ICEL translators manifested towards traditional church music. The interim English translation of the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Creed, Sanctus and Agnus Dei) issued in 1964 was compatible with the old musical settings, and countless Masses composed before Vatican II were simply reissued with the English text. After an enormous amount of money and effort had been expended on this, ICEL knowingly wiped it all out by issuing a new translation of the Ordinary that was completely incompatible with the old Latin musical setting. As a church musician, I considered them monsters who despised sacred music.

many of the errors in the official English translation are in the process of being corrected (albeit after forty years).

What is of interest to us here, nevertheless, is to discover *how* this state of affairs first came about. The mistranslation of liturgical texts was a *worldwide* phenomenon after Vatican II. Was it indeed, as the conservatives maintained, the result of a conspiracy by modernists in national bishops' conferences to fool Paul VI and hijack his liturgical reform through wildcat mistranslations? Who was responsible for it?

## ROME AND THE MISTRANSLATIONS

As we have seen above, when in the past the Church allowed the Mass to be celebrated in the vernacular, she insisted on two things: (1) That the Roman congregations check and approve all translations, and (2) That the translations be exact, accurate, literal and faithful to the Latin text.

After Vatican II, however, the policy was transformed into the exact *opposite*: (1) The national bishops' conferences approved all vernacular translations, with only *pro forma* approval from the Roman congregations, and (2) The Vatican liturgical authorities themselves officially *encouraged* loose and inexact "translations" of the Latin texts.

**1. Bishops' Conferences.** The power of national bishops' conferences over translations was one of Vatican II's major innovations, and was one part of setting the stage for the falsified translations that would follow.

In a 1965 commentary on the Constitution on the Liturgy, Consilium's Father Carlo Braga noted that all power over translations now resides in the body of bishops; Rome now merely approves the bishops' decrees in order to bind individual bishops — presumably, the recalcitrant ones. "This represents," he said, "a profound change in ecclesiastical discipline made by the Council... Up to now all translations had to be approved by the Holy See."[42]

This was another one of the many time bombs in the Constitution. By this point, members of the now-radicalized Liturgical Movement dominated the liturgy committees of the bishops' conferences in the major western countries that would be responsible for the translation work.

**2. Preparatory Legislation.** The other element was a series of general decrees that would progressively allow more freedom to "adapt" translations.

On 26 September 1964, Consilium, with the approval of Paul VI, issued the Instruction *Inter Oecumenici* in order to implement some of the provisions

42. "General Norms: The Language to be Used," in Annibale Bugnini, ed., *Commentary on the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* (1965), 114–5.

of the Constitution on the Liturgy. The Instruction stated that translations are to be based on the Latin liturgical text, and that translations of biblical passages should conform to the same Latin liturgical text — so far, so good. Then it adds:

> This does not take away the right to revise that version, should it seem advisable, on the basis of the original text or of some clearer version.[43]

And just who did the "revising," or decided which version of the original text is "clearer"? Radicals in the national liturgical bureaucracies, of course, aided by modernist biblical scholars.

In 1965 Consilium sponsored a meeting to discuss the question of translations. The minutes appeared in Consilium's official publication, *Notitiae*. The liturgists believed that a "certain adaptation" in translating liturgical texts was not only permissible but required. Adaptations, if warranted, should be made through "certain changes, additions, suppressions and especially transformation."[44] This was a discreet hint freeing translators from following the literal meaning of the original Latin text.

In 1967, after Paul VI allowed the vernacular to be used in the Canon,[45] Bugnini provided the national bishops' conferences with a series of official norms for interim translations. The version each conference was preparing, he said, ought "to render faithfully the text of the Roman Canon, without variations, omissions, or insertions which would make it different from the Latin text."[46]

Again, so far, so good; but once again, the door was left open for the revolution: The language of the translation, said Bugnini, was "to be that normally used in liturgical texts, avoiding exaggerated classical and modern forms."[47] Thus translators who decided to "transform" the meaning of a text were able to defend their work by saying that they merely wished to avoid using an "exaggerated classical form." Conservatives who objected could then be referred to the appropriate Roman decree.

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43. §40.a, DOL 332.

44. "Conventus de Popularibus Interpretationibus Textuum Liturgicorum," *Notitiae* 1 (1965), 398: "E contra aliquam aptationem admittebant seu potius exigebant in vertendis textibus ecclesiasticis, ut puta orationes et praefationes, praecise ex eorum natura rituali... Accomodatio fiet, si oporteat, per aliquas mutationes, additiones, suppressiones et praesertim transmutationem, bene animavertendo ne profundum sensum religiosum, aut per nimiam aridiatem (linguis ceterum modernis parum consonantem), at per nimiam ampullositatem, gravitati et robori textus originalis oppositas, ammitant."

45. See Concession, allowing, *ad experimentum*, use of the vernacular in the canon of the Mass and in ordinations, 31 January 1967, DOL 816–9.

46. Communication, *Aussitôt après*, 10 August 1967, §1, DOL 821.

47. Ibid. §2, DOL 822.

**3. Rome Has Spoken.** The final blow to any pretense of accuracy came in 1969 when Consilium issued a lengthy Instruction in six major languages providing the official norms for translating liturgical texts. This Instruction, known by its French title, *Comme le Prévoit*, laid down the principles that produced the distortions, omissions and outright errors in modern vernacular translations.

The Instruction is a typical modernist production, filled with double-talk borrowed from the fields of psychology, modern communications, sociology and anthropology: Liturgical translations must not "merely" reproduce the expressions, ideas and words of the original text; they must follow the "total context of [the] specific act of communication"[48] — whatever that means. Words and expressions "must be used in their proper historical, social, and ritual meanings."[49] Moreover, "The accuracy and value of a translation can only be assessed in terms of the purpose of the communication."[50] But assessing the "total context" does not mean that you translate words verbatim — you must *adapt* them:

> The prayer of the Church is always the prayer of some actual community, assembled here and now. It is not sufficient that a formula handed down from some other time or region be translated verbatim, even if accurately, for liturgical use. The formula translated must become the genuine prayer of the congregation and in it each of its members should be able to find and express himself or herself.[51]

Accuracy in translations, then, must give way to "finding yourself" and "self-expression."

Above, we mentioned that the translators purged from their translations of the Latin orations certain concepts in order to advance the modernist theological agenda. The following passage in the Roman Instruction was the basis for their work:

> The prayers (opening prayer [Collect], prayer over the gifts [Secret], prayer after communion [Postcommunion]) from the ancient Roman tradition are

48. Instruction *Comme le Prévoit*, 25 January 1969, §6, DOL 843: "To achieve this end, it is not sufficient that a liturgical text merely reproduce the expressions and ideas of the original text. Rather it must faithfully communicate to a given people, and in their own language, *that which the Church by means of this given text originally intended to communicate to another people in another time*. A faithful translation, therefore, cannot be judged on the basis of individual words: *the total context of this specific act of communication must be kept in mind*, as well as the literary form proper to the respective language." My emphasis.
49. Ibid. §13.d, DOL 850.
50. Ibid. §14, DOL 852.
51. Ibid. §20.c, DOL 856.

succinct and abstract. In translation they may need to be rendered somewhat more freely while conserving the original ideas. *This can be done by moderately amplifying them or, if necessary, paraphrasing expressions in order to concretize them for the celebration and needs of today.* In every case pompous and superfluous language should be avoided.[52]

To complete its work of destruction, the Instruction lists some specific Latin terms, and provides criteria on how and how not to translate them. At once it becomes apparent that the errors in vernacular translations originated not with the national bishops' conferences but with the liturgical authorities in Rome:

*pius, pietas*: These are "inadequately rendered" as *pious* and *piety.*

*salus*: It may mean *salvation* in the theological sense — but it may also be translated as *health* or *well-being.*

*caro*: This is "inadequately rendered" as *flesh.*

*servus, famula*: These are "inadequately rendered" by *slave*, *servant* or *handmaid.*[53]

*beatissima, gloriosa, sanctus*: Translating these words (*most blessed, glorious, holy*) when referring to Our Lady or the saints "may actually weaken the force of the prayer."[54]

*jejunium*: This word (*fasting*) "now has the sense of *lenten* observance, both liturgical and asectic; the meaning is not confined to abstinence from food."

*humilis*: Its meaning originally had "class" overtones. It should not be translated as *humble* or *lowly.*

*dignare, clementissime, majestas*: These expressions (*deign, most merciful, majesty*) "were originally adapted from forms of address to the sovereign in the courts of Byzantium and Rome." It is "necessary to study how far an attempt should be made" to offer equivalents in the vernacular.[55]

*misericordia*: Its "proper meaning is not accurately expressed" by *mercy* or *pity.*[56]

*terrena dispicere*: This phrase (*to despise the things of this earth*), like the phrase *ut inimicos sanctae Ecclesiae humiliare digneris* (*That Thou wouldst deign to*

52. Ibid. §34, DOL 871. My emphasis.
53. Ibid. §11.b, DOL 848.
54. Ibid. §12.c, DOL 849.
55. Ibid. §13.d, DOL 850.
56. Ibid. §17.1, DOL 854.

*humble the enemies of Holy Mother Church*), "can no longer be understood... because it is contrary to modern Christian ideas."[57]

It is easy to see what principles were at work: Whatever in the Latin original still hinted that the Catholic Church is the one, true Church is to be excised in the vernacular translation — ecumenism must not suffer. Any word or expression which connotes man's sinfulness, or alludes to his need for humility, the mercy of God, mortification, or detachment from the things of the world is to be diluted, if not dropped altogether — who needs such things if the world is all-good, and we're all going to heaven anyway?

Adjectives or expressions that emphasize the majesty of God or the sublime holiness of Our Lady and the saints are to be omitted — collegiality and democracy apply to God and the saints as well. Such language, by indicating transcendent notions (a supernatural order, distinct from the natural order), also contradicts the modernist notion of an *immanent* Deity. The notion of a real separation between this world and the next must accordingly be blurred.

So, conservatives like Gary Potter, Father Dupuy, Christopher Monckton and Michael Davies had in fact pointed their fingers at the wrong culprits. The translators in the national bishops' conferences were merely following an official Instruction that had come down from Rome.

**4. A Weighty Commentary.** In 1970 Benedictine Father Antoine Dumas, a member of Consilium, wrote a lengthy commentary for the official publication *Notitiae* that amplified the principles laid down in the 1969 Instruction.[58] His remarks would have carried a particular weight, because he was most probably the principal author of the Instruction on translations.[59]

It was impossible, Dumas said, to produce a good translation without "the perfect transposition of the message into another context, its delicate adaptation to historical, social and ritual circumstances which are completely different."[60] He offered a lengthy list of terms which must be "adapted" in translation: Expressions in the Latin, for example, which hint at appeasing God's wrath should be softened to convey the notion of "reconciliation"; terms which refer to mortification and fasting "should be rendered into more general expressions, adapted to the contemporary mentality"; the word *quaesumus* (*We beseech Thee*) should normally not be translated, but, if it is the

57. Ibid. §24.c, DOL 861.

58. "Pour Mieux Comprendre les Textes Liturgiques du Missel Romain," *Notitiae* 6 (1970), 194–213.

59. The usual practice with an important Vatican document is to allow its principal author (who is otherwise anonymous) the privilege of writing a lengthy commentary on it, which is then immediately published in a scholarly periodical.

60. "Pour Mieux," 195.

principal verb in a prayer, it should be translated as *pray* without any hint of supplication.[61] The wrath of God, mortification and supplication, of course, have no place in the modernist theological system; hence, they must disappear.

Protestant liturgies, said Dumas, show a balanced use of modern language and "provide a beautiful example for us to follow."[62] It comes as no surprise, therefore, to see him recommend that the Latin word *hostia* (a word that sent reformation Protestants into conniptions) should not be translated as *victim*. Rather, he continued, it often designates only "the gifts prepared for the Eucharist" and may be rendered simply as *our offerings*. He explained:

> Certain traditional figures of speech [*tournures*] should be minimized in the translation, in light of what we shall recall regarding the true nature of the beginning of the Liturgy of the Eucharist — the bringing of the gifts to the altar and their presentation by the celebrant, ending with the prayer over the gifts. In this perspective, the words *hostiam quam immolamus* [*the victim which we offer*], susceptible to a very strong interpretation, should be translated at least by "the gifts we present" and at most by "the sacrifice we are going to offer."[63]

The disappearance of *victim* from the official English version of the Roman Canon, it should be noted, sent Michael Davies and other English-speaking conservatives into conniptions of their own against the ICEL, which they roundly denounced for perpetrating such a travesty.[64] But the responsible party was the probable author of the official Roman Instruction on translations.

**5. Analysis.** So, in the foregoing, we see a bizarre world where *all* the traditional principles about liturgical language for the Mass have been turned on their heads: A "sacral" style is to be avoided in the language of the Mass. A babble of modern languages replaces the unity of a universal tongue. Terms with fixed meanings as expressions of Catholic dogmas are subject to the caprice of translators and the evolution of languages. Continuity with tradition is severed. Pedagogy replaces the idea of worship. And to top it off, translations are to be intentionally falsified.

What is the best argument for Latin and against the vernacular in Mass?

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61. Ibid. 208–9.
62. Ibid. 197.
63. Ibid. 199. Similarly, A.M. Rouget OP and Lancelot Sheppard, "Translation of the Roman Canon," in *The New Liturgy*, ed. by Lancelot Sheppard (London: Darson, Longmann and Todd 1970), 161–73.
64. See *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 618–9.

The total mess made of translations that were based on principles that modernists at the highest level of the post-Vatican II Church laid down.

## IF THE POPE HAD ONLY KNOWN...

Finally, this raises the question of how Consilium was able was to foist this modernist fraud on Catholics throughout the world. Michael Davies indignantly wrote that such translation represented "a serious dilution of Catholic teaching," and that as a result, the faithful "are not even able to assist at the Mass of Pope Paul VI except in the few places where it is celebrated in Latin."[65]

So, the tale of the Instruction on translations could confirm what many traditionalists and conservatives have long maintained: Poor Paul VI! Betrayed and deceived once again by modernists in high places at the Vatican, the victim of a deception that had untold destructive effects on Catholics throughout the world! If the pope had only *known*!

Well, as a German priest-colleague used to say: *Ja, und hätte der Führer das gewußt!* — Yes, if the Führer had only known, too...

For the truth of the matter is that the ultimate blame for these falsified translations rests ultimately not with radicals in national episcopal conferences or even with sneaky modernists in the Vatican liturgical bureaucracy, but with Paul VI himself. He carefully examined both the French and Italian drafts of the Instruction on translation; he made 47 notations on the draft in his own handwriting; he made changes both in the Instruction's style and substance, and he even corrected the printer's page-proofs.[66]

Then on 29 December 1968 Paul VI finally wrote on the file: "Looked at. It's a bit long; cf. the little revisions, but it can go forward."[67] And forward it went, to consign grace, humility, God's majesty and countless other hallowed expressions to the depths of the modernist memory-hole.

## SUMMARY

- The passages in Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy referring to the preservation of Latin and the introduction of the vernacular are ambiguously worded and susceptible to contradictory interpretations.
- Those officially authorized to implement this legislation (Bugnini, Consilium, Paul VI and the national bishops' conferences) permitted or imposed the near-universal use of the vernacular after Vatican II.
- Absolute intelligibility was not a requirement for liturgical language in

65. *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 621.
66. See RL, 236–7.
67. RL, 237. "Visto. E' un po' lungo; cf. piccoli ritocchi, ma può andare."

the time of Our Lord or in the early Church.

• For 1600 years, the Church carefully preserved the special status of Latin as the language for the Mass of the Roman Rite.

• The Church encouraged Eastern rites to retain their proper languages, and occasionally permitted the Mass of the Roman Rite to be celebrated in a modern language.

• These may not be adduced as precedents for the post-Vatican II process of vernacularizing the Mass because (1) the languages used in the various Eastern rites were not true vernaculars in every case, and (2) historically, the Holy See required that translations of the Roman Rite Mass be slavishly faithful to the Latin original.

• The reasons for the use of Latin as a liturgical language are sacredness, unity, unchangeableness and tradition, all of which reflect doctrinal truths about the Mass or the Catholic faith.

• Advocating the abandonment of Latin for the vernacular, on the other hand, is historically linked with the corruption of doctrinal truth. The vernacular was used as a means to spread heresy, to falsify doctrine through mistranslations, and to deny the objective value of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

• Three statements from Consilium (1964, 1965, 1967) progressively allowed more freedom to "adapt" translations.

• The final blow to any pretense at accuracy in translations came with the Instruction *Comme le Prévoit* (25 January 1969) which laid down the principles that produced the distortions, omissions and outright errors in modern liturgical translations.

• In 1970, the probable author of the Instruction amplified the principles it contained in such a way as to further the modernist theological agenda of removing "negative" theology and allusions to doctrines that Protestants could find offensive.

• Paul VI examined the French and Italian drafts of the Instruction, made numerous notations on it in his own handwriting, made changes in its style and substance, and even corrected the printer's page-proofs. The destructive principles in it are therefore his.

So, conservatives need not fear that they've been cheated all these years. The "mistranslated" *Novus Ordo* is in fact the *real* Mass of Paul VI.

Chapter 5

# The 1969 General Instruction: The Mass as Assembly

AMONG THE MANY types of seminary liturgy courses I have taught over the years, the most difficult to make interesting is the one on rubrics. *Rubrics* are the directions, often printed in red,[1] which tell the priest what prayers to recite and what gestures to make during the course of the Mass, the Divine Office or any other liturgical rite.

The bulk of the rubrics for the traditional Mass appear in the front of the Missal. They describe in minute and seemingly endless detail the various actions the priest must perform at each point in the rite: how he is to hold his hands, where and how low he must bow, how loud his voice should be, when the altar must be kissed, etc. Rubrics are considered *laws* that the priest is obliged to observe. They do not explain *why* you must perform a particular gesture in a particular way — that information is found in liturgical or theological commentaries on the Mass — they just tell you to *do* it.

After Vatican II, this understanding of liturgical law underwent a fundamental shift overall, and took on what Father Thomas Richstatter called "a new style, a new spirit." Rubrics would henceforth be interspersed with explanatory commentary to provide the doctrinal whys and wherefores for the rites, the exacting regulation of the liturgy would be loosened up, and indeed, the notion of a rubric itself would be transformed from a law into a general direction or norm.

So, when the New Mass was first published in 1969, it was accompanied by a prefatory document called the *General Instruction on the Roman Missal* (hereafter, the GI). This style of post-Vatican II liturgical document, an "instruction," was not supposed to deal with rubrics alone. It was also meant to explain the *reasons* for the rites,[2] or to serve as a kind of "doctrinal and pastoral treatise, a little *summa*" to assist in understanding a rite.[3]

During the year preceding the publication of the 1969 GI, Consilium

1. *Rubrica* from the Latin for "red." Rubrics are actually printed in red when they appear near the text of a prayer, which is printed in black.

2. See A.G. Martimort, "L'Institutio Generalis et la Nouvelle 'Liturgia Horarum,'" *Notitiae* 7 (1971), 220–1.

3. Carlo Braga, "Punti Qualificanti della 'Institutio Generalis Missalis Romani,'" LO, 243. "trattato dottrinale e pastorale, una piccola 'summa.'"

stated that the forthcoming document would contain the "theological principles" for the New Mass, and would serve as a "theological exposition" or a "doctrinal presentation" that would help one understand the "nature and significance" of the elements in the new rite.[4]

The 1969 GI was thus the theological blueprint or ground plan that the architects of the New Mass drew up to explain their creation. Since we have set out to examine the treatment of Catholic doctrine in the New Mass, this document will be of great interest to us.

The amount of time Consilium spent composing the 1969 GI indicates the significance that the reformers attached to its contents. From October 1967 to April 1969, the text went through five drafts, and was sent to Paul VI for review at least twice, with the last changes coming from him shortly before the *Novus Ordo Missae* was to go to press.[5]

According to Father Carlo Braga, the head of the Consilium subcommittee responsible for writing the GI, the second chapter in particular, entitled "The Structure and Parts of the Mass," had received the subcommittee's "special attention" during a week of "intense and minute" labor in January 1968.[6]

When the New Mass finally appeared, however, conservative opponents of the liturgical reform attacked the GI as Protestant, modernist or heretical, especially the second chapter. The controversy led to backpedaling at the Vatican (suddenly the GI was not *really* theological or doctrinal), and to the publication in 1970 of a revised *General Instruction*. This story we will tell in Chapter 6.

The 1969 GI, however, shows us the *real* theological and doctrinal principles behind the New Mass. When we examine the various details of the new rite and ask why this prayer was changed, this gesture altered, that rite invented, etc., we can often find an explanation in one of the theological principles enunciated in the 1969 GI.

On key points (What is the Mass? How is Christ present? Who offers the Mass?), the theology of the Mass presented in the 1969 GI is that of

4. See below, Chapter 6.

5. By October 1967, once the essential shape of the *Novus Ordo* had been settled, a special subcommittee of Consilium, headed by Braga, began gathering material for the Instruction. A draft of the text went through several revisions in December 1967 and early January 1968. In late January, Braga says, members of the subcommittee spent a week of "intense and minute" labor rewriting the text ("Punti," 245). The text was circulated among various consultors, and underwent additional revisions and examinations from spring through fall 1968, during which time Paul VI had also received a copy (RL, 184). Consilium approved the fifth draft of the GI in November 1968 (Braga, "Punti," 246). On 10 April 1969, shortly before the *Novus Ordo Missae* was to go to press, Paul VI made a few final corrections in the GI (RL, 379).

6. "Punti," 245.

Louis Bouyer, which, as we saw in Chapter 2, is itself based on the Eucharistic theology of the ecumenist Yngve Brilioth. (Bouyer had been appointed to Consilium Study Group 10 in 1967, when work on the GI began). Thus in the 1969 GI, the theology we get is ecumenical High Church Lutheranism of the 1920s, repackaged in the 1950s by a modernist. You don't get any more ecumenical than that.

Once the dispute over the 1969 GI had long passed, supporters of the reform became more candid about the goals that the document was meant to achieve. A 1982 birthday tribute to Bugnini contained a lengthy article by the ecumenist Dominican J.-M.Tillard, who praised the many passages in the 1969 GI that had been adopted "in an explicitly ecumenical spirit."[7] The passages he characterized as the fruit of "doctrinal convergence" were precisely the ones that orthodox Catholics in 1969 had most loudly condemned as heretical.

In addition to the Bouyer/Brilioth assembly theology, the influence of Jungmann's "pastoral liturgy" theory shows up in the rubrical provisions of the GI. Where pre-Vatican II liturgical legislation once minutely prescribed which texts were to be used for the prayers of the Mass, the GI often allows individuals to select or indeed, sometimes invent liturgical texts as they see fit. This deregulation of the contents of the liturgy inevitably leads to the destruction of Catholic doctrine, which liturgical laws are supposed to protect.

In our treatment of the 1969 GI, we will therefore examine the following topics: (1) The GI's definition of the Mass as *assembly*, rather than *sacrifice*. (2) The GI's fabricated "real" presences of Christ (in the gathered people and Scripture) that undermine Catholic teaching on *the* Real Presence of Christ through transubstantiation. (3) The GI's teaching that the Mass re-presents the *Last Supper*; this proposition replaces the ecumenically unacceptable Tridentine teaching that the Mass re-presents the *Sacrifice of the Cross*. (4) The GI's teaching that the *assembly* celebrates the Mass, while the priest presides. (5) The further destruction of doctrine through the deregulation of the Mass.

## 1. WHAT IS THE MASS?

It is relatively easy to define the Mass in a way that is clear, precise and unequivocal. Here is a typical definition, based on the teaching of the Council of Trent, and formulated in the language of traditional Thomistic theology:

> The unbloody sacrifice of the New Law, in which the Body and Blood of Christ, under the species of bread and wine, by a mystical immolation, are offered by a legitimate minister of Christ to God in order to acknowledge

7. Jean-Marie R. Tillard OP, "La Réforme Liturgique et le Rapprochement des Églises," LO, 224.

> His supreme dominion and to apply to us the merits of the Sacrifice of the Cross.[8]

This tells you what the *essence* of the Mass is — what makes the Mass to be the Mass. The definition is so simple and direct that a nearly identical version appears in an edition of *The Baltimore Catechism* for fifth- and sixth-graders.

But the very clarity of such language runs afoul of the two guiding principles of the post-Vatican II liturgical reform: ecumenism and modernism. Ecumenism dictates that in speaking of the Mass, you avoid language like unbloody sacrifice, immolation, merits, etc., because non-Catholics reject these teachings; modernism, since it is based on dogmatic evolution and modern existentialist philosophy, rejects essences, and simply prefers to *describe* things.

**1. Mass as Assembly.** Thus, in paragraph 7 of the 1969 GI, we find the following definition for the Mass:

> "The Lord's Supper or Mass is the sacred assembly [*synaxis*] or congregation of the people of God gathering together, with a priest presiding, in order to celebrate the memorial of the Lord. For this reason, Christ's promise applies supremely to such a local gathering of the Church: 'Where two or three come together in my name, there am I in their midst.' (Mt 18:20)."[9]

This paragraph, said Consilium's Father Luca Brandolini, "defines the Mass exactly, beginning with the assembly," and in it "the sign of the assembly is returned to its first position."[10] The great sign "which defines and qualifies the whole celebration, according to the new Order of the Mass is the *eucharistic assembly*."[11]

The definition is a reworking of the Bouyer/Brilioth theory we discussed in Chapter 2: that the Old Testament Qehal Yahweh (assembly duly convoked) constitutes the "permanent shape of the liturgy in the Catholic

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8. B. Merkelbach, *Summa Theologiae Moralis*, 8th ed. (Montreal: Desclée 1949) 3:308.

9. §7: "Cena dominica sive Missa est sacra synaxis seu congregatio populi Dei in unum convenientis, sacerdote praeside, ad memoriale Domini celebrandum. Quare de sanctae Ecclesiae locali congregatione eminenter valet promissio Christi: 'Ubi sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum.' (Mt 18, 20)." Tr. in DOL 1397, note a. The Latin texts quoted in the footnotes in this chapter are taken from the text of the GI published in the 1969 *Ordo Missae*.

10. "Aspetti Pastorali del Nuovo 'Ordo Missae,'" EL 83 (1969), 388–9. "la definisce proprio a partire dall'assemblea. Viene così rimesso al primo posto il segno-assemblea, nella linea della più genuina tradizione che fin dalle origini aveva visto nella Messa la 'sinassi' della comunità cristiana."

11. Ibid. 388, original emphasis: "Tuttavia, sotto un profilo eminentemente pastorale, sembra che il grande segno che determina e qualifica la celebrazione, secondo il nuovo 'Ordo Missae,'sia *l'assemblea eucaristica*."

tradition,"[12] and it is a theory which (as we have already seen) Paul VI himself adhered to.

As regards the individual elements in the definition:

(1) *Lord's Supper.* Though this expression can have an orthodox meaning, Protestants adopted it to deny that the Mass was a true sacrifice, to distinguish their communion services from the Mass, and to emphasize that their service is nothing more that a simple memorial.[13] And the GI, said Tillard, "adopted this language in an explicitly ecumenical spirit."[14]

(2) *Sacred assembly.* The essence of the Mass is no longer *sacrifice* but *assembly.* This is the modernist "substitution" trick at work.

(3) *People of God.* This is a Vatican II weasel word used in place of "Church" in order to include all the baptized, including heretics and schismatics. It was probably used in place of *Church* because (in the 1960s, at least) the latter still connoted just Catholics, and no one else.

(4) *Gathering together.* The act of assembling constitutes the Lord's Supper or the Mass.

(5) *Priest presiding.* The priest does not offer or celebrate the action that takes place — he *presides* over it.

(6) *In order to celebrate.* Instead, it is the gathered *assembly* (*synaxis*) that celebrates.

(7) *The memorial of the Lord.* There is another substitution at work here. What the assembly celebrates is not a *sacrifice*, but a *memorial.* (See below.)

(8) *Christ's promise... there am I in their midst.* According to standard Catholic sacramental theology, the presence of Christ is *substantial* (as in "transubstantiation") and effected by the priest reciting the *words of consecration.* The presence of Christ that paragraph 7 of the GI mentions (based on Mt 18) is not *substantial*: this is presence *by grace only.* It is effected not by a priest who recites the Words of Consecration: it is effected by the *gathering of Christ's followers in His name.* The GI's sleight of hand short-circuits the

12. Thus, the liturgy is "the meeting of God's People called together in convocation..." LP, 29. "From what has already been said on the 'Qehal Yahweh' and the brotherly meal of those who are expecting the consolation of Israel, it has been already made sufficiently clear that the core of Christian liturgy is to be found in the Eucharistic *synaxis* [assembly], in the Mass." LP, 74–5. "The Mass as it developed from the 'Qehal Yahweh' was actually the People of God in the process of making itself." LP, 160.

13. Thus, for instance, Henry Bullinger, Zwingli's son-in-law and successor, whose teaching would greatly influence English Protestants: "The supper of the Lord is an holy action instituted unto the church from God, wherein the Lord, by the setting of bread and wine before us at the banquet, doth certify unto us his promise and communion, ... [and] gathereth together one body visibly; and, to be short, will have his death kept of the faithful in remembrance..." *Decades*, V, sermon 9, (Cambridge: Parker Society, no date) 4:403, quoted in ESR, 173.

14. Tillard, 224.

Catholic teaching on transubstantiation, a concept detested by Protestants and modernists alike.

Finally, according to the English liturgist J.D. Crichton, those who objected to paragraph 7 wanted "to cling to a static essentialist theology of the Mass," as opposed to "the existentialist theology at Vatican II... it is from the Mass-in-action that you can see what it is... an existent thing, and its nature will only be known in celebration."[15]

Well, together with the Council of Trent, I plead guilty as charged. For with the existentialist theology of Vatican II, what you see is what you get. And *all* you get is assembly.

**2. Meal, Sacrifice, Thanksgiving, Memorial.** With the Mass transformed into an assembly, the four "irreducible elements" which Bouyer/Brilioth said constituted "the full Catholic tradition in all its wealth and purity" then surface in other passages in the GI. In this scheme, *sacrifice* becomes merely one element in four.

(1) *Meal.* No less than eighteen articles in the GI employ terms such as *supper*, *table*, *refreshment*, *nourishment*, *food*, *banquet*, etc.[16] This language is standard in both Catholic and Protestant theology of the Eucharist, so it poses no ecumenical problems. And for the existentialist modernist theologian, well, communion time *looks* like a meal...

(2) *Sacrifice.* Ten paragraphs mention or allude to the notion of sacrifice.[17] This, obviously, is the touchiest point for ecumenical Eucharistic theology. The 1969 GI defuses the bomb in two ways:

(a) Of the ten paragraphs that allude to the sacrificial aspect of the Mass, six also employ terms relating to *meal.*[18] Meal imagery thus "balances" (i.e., blunts) the dangerous language.

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15. *Christian Celebration: The Mass* (London: Geoffrey Chapman 1971), 53.

16. §§2, 8, 33, 34, 41, 48, 49, 55, 56, 62, 240, 241, 259, 268, 281, and 283.

17. "The Eucharistic sacrifice of [Christ's] body and blood... a memorial of his passion and resurrection" (§2, DOL 1392). The priest "carries out what the Lord did and handed over to his disciples to do in his memory as he instituted the sacrifice and paschal meal" (§48, DOL 1438). The congregation joins itself to Christ "in offering the sacrifice" (§54, DOL 1444). The "victim" will be received in Communion, gifts are "offered by men" and the Church "offers the spotless victim" (§55, DOL 1445). The priest "joins the people to himself in offering sacrifice" (§50, DOL 1450, note C). The People of God "offer the victim" through the hands of the priest, and should become one body "above all by offering the sacrifice together and sharing in the Lord's table" (§62, DOL 1452). Concelebration manifests "the unity of the priesthood, of the sacrifice, and of the whole people of God" (§153, DOL 1543). The altar, "on which the sacrifice of the Cross is made present under the sacramental signs, is also the table of the Lord...." (§259, tr. in OMP, 243). The Church offers "Christ's paschal sacrifice for the dead," so that "the petition for spiritual help on behalf of some members may bring others comforting hope" (§335, DOL 1725). The faithful are urged to "share in the eucharistic sacrifice offered for the deceased person" (§339, DOL 1729).

18. §§2, 48, 55, 60, 62, and 259.

(b) The sacrificial terminology avoids (or more accurately, evades) explicit references to the Mass as a *sacrifice of propitiation* — i.e., one that makes satisfaction to God for sin. This teaching is sometimes called the "great stumbling block of the Reformation." Luther, Calvin and Cranmer could admit that there were sacrifices in the Eucharist through the offering of prayer, praise, self-giving and charity to the poor — but never a sacrifice of propitiation.[19] Jungmann explicitly mentions the dispute in his 1976 commentary on the New Mass.[20]

(3) *Thanksgiving.* This concept is standard in Catholic, Protestant and modernist theology, and poses no problems.

(4) *Memorial.* Six passages in the Instruction refer in one way or another to the Mass as a memorial.[21] There are two points to be noted:

(a) Both Catholic and Protestant theology apply the term *memorial* to the Eucharist, but they understand it in entirely different senses.[22] Thus the term is a perfect tool for an ecumenical blurring of essential doctrinal differences. Tillard says that *memorial* is "one of the most precious terms that the GI brings to light," and an example of the liturgical reform "discreetly accommodating the fruits of doctrinal convergence."[23]

(b) In standard Catholic theology the Mass is a memorial because it is first a *sacrificial* act. In the new theology, the Mass is first the *memorial of the Lord's death and resurrection* that the assembly celebrates as an action of the community.[24] It is not a sacrifice of its own nature, but its sacrificial character depends upon its nature as a memorial.[25] The old teaching has been flipped.

In sum, to our first question (What is the Mass?), we get *assembly* as the answer, muddled by the wooly ecumenical term *memorial.* "Almost any

19. Thus, Thomas Cranmer says in answer to an opponent: "He belieth me [by saying] that I deny the sacrifice of the Mass.... The controversy is not whether in the holy communion be made a sacrifice or not (for herein both Doctor Smith and I agree with the foresaid Council of Ephesus); but *whether it be a propitiatory sacrifice or not....*" *Works* (Cambridge: Parker Society 1844) 1:363, in ESR, 169. My emphasis.

20. TNM, 144. "Even protestant theologians such as are not averse to rapprochement declare that the Catholic doctrine of the Mass as an expiatory sacrifice is the greatest single stumbling block. It is considered variously the Catholic Church's 'radical error'... or the doctrinal difference that 'divides Churches'..."

21. §§2, 7, 48, 55.d, 55.e, and 268.

22. See ESR, 172. For the Catholic, the Mass is a memorial of Christ's Passion because it is a sacrificial act directed toward God, it works objectively because Christ instituted it, and it takes place because an ordained priest turns the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. For the Protestant, the Eucharist is a memorial for other reasons — because it is a reminder of the benefits Christ's Passion won long ago, or a sign of joy at "being saved," or a symbol of the unity of the assembly in the spirit of Christ.

23. "Réforme Liturgique," 223.

24. See Society, *Problem of the Liturgical Reform*, 71–2.

25. Ibid. 78.

believing Protestant, of whatever denomination," said the liturgist Msgr. Klaus Gamber in 1970, "would be able to assent to such a definition."[26]

## 2. HOW IS CHRIST PRESENT AT MASS?

As with the definition of the Mass, it is easy to explain in clear, precise and unequivocal terms how Christ is present in the Mass and how this is effected. Here again, one need only turn to the Council of Trent:

> [This] holy Council teaches and openly and straighforwardly professes that in the blessed sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and true man, is truly, really and substantially contained under the perceptible species of bread and wine.[27]

"This change," the Council declared, "the holy Catholic Church properly and appropriately calls transubstantiation."[28]

Again, you can find this teaching, nearly word for word, in any 5th- or 6th-grade catechism.

And here again, the clarity of such language runs afoul of ecumenism and modernism. Classic Protestant teaching rejects transubstantiation, because it necessarily implies that Christ himself is offered at Mass, and hence that the Mass is a sacrifice of *propitiation*. Modernism, on the other hand, rejects the term because it is an obstacle to ecumenism and incorporates the "static essentialist theology" of Thomism.[29]

So, while you will not find the word *transubstantiation* in the 1969 GI

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26. *The Modern Rite: Collected Essays on the Reform of the Liturgy* (Farnborough, England: St. Michael's Abbey Press 2002), 43. "The word sacrifice is deliberately avoided in the text... It is not really credible that this is a matter of chance. It is rather the deliberate intention of a group of progressive liturgists to relegate to the background the sacrificial character of the Mass, and correspondingly to emphasize its quality as a meal."

27. *Decretum de ss. Eucharistia*, sess. 13, cap. 1. DZ 874.

28. Ibid. cap. 4, DZ 877.

29. Here is how a modernist liturgist tries to dispose of transubstantiation: "Under the influence of phenomenology and existential philosophy, people [*i.e. modernist heretics like the writer*] are asking new questions about Christ's presence... Fresh concerns do not of themselves imply a denial of traditional formulations such as transubstantiation, [*here comes the denial...*] which was itself a particular answer to a question raised at a particular time [*instead of a "general" answer at a non-particular time?*], but rather they often indicate the need to develop new categories [=*invent new truths*] in which to interpret a particular Christian doctrine such as the mystery of Christ's presence to his people [*by ignoring the old "interpretation"*]." R. Kevin Seasoltz, *New Liturgy, New Laws* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 1980), 103.

— an omission, by the way, that favors heresy[30] — you will find instead other "presences" of Christ that devalue *the* Real Presence of Christ.

We have already seen Bouyer, for one, employ this devaluation-by-inflation method, and invent real presences of Christ in the assembly and in the man "who is to preside" over it.

We also find this method at work in Paul VI's 1965 Encyclical *Mysterium Fidei*, a pronouncement supposedly aimed at defending traditional Catholic Eucharistic doctrine. I say "supposedly," because the document was written in the typical Vatican II on-one-hand/on-the-other style. While on one hand it offers a defense of transubstantiation, on the other, the Encyclical introduces *six* presences of Christ (in the Church at prayer, in works of mercy, in the Church's longing for God, in preaching, in Scripture, in the clergy), which it describes as no less "real" than the substantial presence of Christ. The latter, in turn, is only now the "real presence *par excellence*."[31]

After this, the devaluation-by-inflation has one more step to go. In the next stage of dogmatic evolution, these newly minted real presences then become a springboard for ignoring transubstantiation altogether. This is clear from a commentary on the 1969 GI written by Father Martin Patino, a member of Consilium Study Group 10, which was directly responsible for creating the new *Ordo Missae* itself:

> Theologically, it is a matter of *surpassing* points of view stressed by the counter-reformation [i.e., the Council of Trent] — not to deny them, but to enrich them by a more complete affirmation.[32]

This enrichment, he says, originates in Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and the Encyclical *Mysterium Fidei*, which:

> emphasize the *real presence* of Christ, in his Church, within the congregation, when the Sacred Scriptures are read and when the Sacrament of the Eucharist is made present. This mysterious presence of the Lord unfolds before [the people] like God's coming nearer and nearer to his people, following the rhythm of the celebration.[33]

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30. In the Constitution *Auctorem Fidei* (29 August 1794), DZ 1529, Pius VI condemned the following proposition, "After the consecration, Christ is truly, really and substantially [present] under the appearances [of bread and wine]; thus the whole substance of the bread and wine cease, with only the appearances remaining," as, "pernicious, prejudicial to the exposition of the truth of the Catholic faith concerning the dogma of transubstantiation, and favoring heretics," because of its "suspicious omission" of any reference to transubstantiation.

31. See §§35–9, DOL 1178–83. "By which it is not intended to exclude all other types of presence as if they could not be 'real' too…" "quae quidem praesentia 'realis' dicitur non per exclusionem, quasi aliae 'reales' non sint, sed per excellentiam, quia est substantialis." AAS 57 (1965), 764.

32. OMP, 31. My emphasis.

33. OMP, 31–2. My emphasis.

Before we pass on to discuss both of these newly minted real presences, a word on the notion of "presence" in general is in order.

**1. Presence in general.** There are three ways in which someone is said to be present:

(1) *Physical Presence.* Both the substance *and* the accidents of a person are present. This kind of presence is confining; it is limited by the ability of someone's physical flesh and blood to be seen by others.

This was the manner in which Christ was present in the Temple when He purified it. Since His Ascension, Christ is present in this manner only in heaven.

(2) *Substantial Presence.* The substance of someone's body is present, but *without* the accidents. This cannot occur naturally, and is possible only by the power of God.

In this manner Christ is present in the Holy Eucharist, which is really and truly the substance of His Body and Blood as He is in heaven, but without the accidents of His Body and Blood.[34]

(3) *Virtual Presence.* This occurs if the *activity* of a person is present to someone else.

In this manner the Blessed Trinity is present in the souls of the just by the activity of grace, or the Holy Ghost is present though His assistance to the pope and to general councils held in union with him.

A more prosaic example: a person could be virtually present to someone else through a letter he wrote or a video in which he appeared.

**2. Christ is present in the assembled community.** (§§ 7, 28.) In the 1969 GI this notion surfaces first at the end of its infamous definition of the Mass in article 7:

> "For this reason, Christ's promise applies supremely to such a local gathering of the Church: 'Where two or three come together in my name, there am I in their midst.' (Mt 18:20)."[35]

Catholic commentaries on Mt 18:20, however, understand the passage to refer to *virtual* presence — the activity of Christ in His Church, or in souls, through grace and assistance:

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34. The accidents we see and sense are those of bread and wine, which continue even though the substance of the bread and wine is no longer there.

35. §7: "Quare de sanctae Ecclesiae locali congregatione eminenter valet promissio Christi: 'Ubi sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum.' (Mt 18, 20)." Tr. in DOL 1397, note a.

> *For where two or three are*, that is, many followers, *gathered in my name*, acting because of me, because of my cause, *I am there in the midst of them*, not by reason of the divine presence by which I am everywhere, but by grace and assistance, to assist and hear their prayers, to direct their councils. Consequently, the dignity of the community and the excellence of common prayer are shown, especially liturgical prayer.[36]

These commentaries do not compare, still less equate, the *virtual* presence of Christ by grace or activity with the *Real* (substantial) Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The comparison is a modernist invention.

The notion of Christ's presence in the assembly occurs a second time in the GI in a passage referring to the Greeting (*The Lord be with you*, etc.) at the beginning of the *Novus Ordo*:

> Then through his greeting the priest declares to the assembled community that the Lord is present. This greeting and the congregation's response express the mystery of the gathered Church.[37]

When joined with the teaching of paragraph 7, this provides the perfect weapon to consign the dogma of transubstantiation to the theological trash heap. The presence of Christ in the assembly became *the* prime hobby horse for post-Vatican liturgists and is a recurring theme in their writings.

Father Joseph Lécuyer, a member of Consilium, wrote that Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy proclaimed the presence of Christ:

> not only in the minister who offers the Eucharist or under the appearances of bread and wine or in the Word proclaimed in the assembly, but also in the assembly itself which prays and gives thanks...
>
> [Christ] continues to be present in his Church and through his Spirit. This presence of Christ *is not less a "real presence" than that which takes place through transubstantiation:* we have to give its full importance to this spiritual presence of Christ in the assembly.[38]

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36. Hadrian Simón CSsR, *Praelectiones Biblicae*, Novum Testamentum (Turin: Marietti 1951) 1:507. "*Ubi enim sunt duo vel tres*, i.e. plures discipuli *congregati in nomine meo*, propter me, meam causam, agentes, *ibi sum in medio eorum*, non ratione divinæ præsentiæ, qua ubique sum, sed gratiæ et assistentiæ: ad eorum preces adjuvandas et exaudiendas, ad eorum concilia dirigenda. Eo majestas communitatis ostenditur et excellentia orationis communis, liturgicæ præsertim." His emphasis. Even Protestant commentaries understand the presence described in Mt 18:20 as virtual.

37. §28, DOL 1418.

38. "Liturgical Assembly: Biblical and Patristic Foundations," in *The Church Worships*, Concilium Series, vol. 12 (New York: Paulist Press 1966), 15. My emphasis. Note how he takes up Paul VI's idea from *Mysterium Fidei* §39, DOL 1183 — that other presences are "not less real" than the Real Presence.

Again, the linguistic inflation: the presence of Christ in the assembly is equal to transubstantiation.

An analogy shows the absurdity of equating these "presences." Imagine paying five thousand dollars for an opera ticket to hear Pavarotti sing *Tosca*, only to have the curtain rise on a DVD projection of the tenor. If you protested that you paid to see the *real* Pavarotti present on stage, would you accept the manager's explanation that Pavarotti's presence by DVD was "no less real"?

Father Robert Leodgar develops the idea of the presence of Christ in the assembly as follows:

> Jesus does not "come down upon" the altar at the consecration precisely because he is already present. Jesus is progressively manifested at the eucharist [*sic*] through the acknowledgement of his saving presence in the act of praise.

This "manifestation" of Christ's presence takes place in the "faith-lives" of the participating members of the congregation.[39]

So, too, the Capuchin liturgist Father Kenneth Smits, who, please note, says the idea is founded on the teaching of Paul VI's *Mysterium Fidei*:

> The starting point [in the Encyclical *Mysterium Fidei*] is Christ's presence in the community, after which are spelled out the other ways in which this presence in the community is enriched through the presence of Christ in ministry, in word and in sacrament... [This could] suggest that *the* fundamental and abiding presence of Christ is his presence in the believing community, and that the other manifestations in ministry, words and sacrament are more in the service of the community.

To emphasize this "fundamental presence of Christ," Smits suggested dropping the incensation of the altar at the beginning of Mass, and incensing the assembly instead, thus "reverencing the congregation as the presence of Christ."[40] Statements like the latter are beyond parody.

Thus the anti-transubstantiation theology of Bouyer and a Swedish Lutheran is combined with a new-fangled and spurious interpretation of Mt 18:20 and brought to its logical conclusion. From there, it will be used to justify destroying Catholic altars, Catholic liturgy and Catholic Eucharistic piety throughout the world.

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39. Robert J. Leodgar, "Eucharistic Prayer and the Gifts over Which It Is Spoken" (*Worship* 41 [December 1967], 515–29), in LB, 78.

40. Kenneth Smits, "A Congregational Order of Worship" (*Worship* 54 [January 1980], 55–75), in LB, 286, 292. His emphasis. In the 1970s, I saw Smits, a flamboyant crackpot if there ever was one, install a giant loaf of bread and a clear beaker of wine on the seminary altar for "Eucharistic Adoration."

**3. Christ is present in His Word.** (§§9, 33, 35.) If the presence of Christ in the assembly has been raised to the level of the (unmentionable) dogma of transubstantiation, so too has the "presence of Christ in His Word," that is, when Scripture is read. The 1969 GI implies, through a diabolically clever blurring of distinctions, that listening to a Scripture reading is equivalent to receiving Communion. Witness the following:

> The Mass is made up as it were of the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Eucharist, two parts so closely connected that they form one single act of worship. For in the Mass the table of God's word and Christ's body is laid for the people of God to receive from it instruction and food.[41]

The confusion occurs in other passages as well: The readings are "an element of the *greatest* importance to the liturgy,"[42] "Christ, present in his own word, is proclaiming the Gospel,"[43] God is "nourishing" the spirit of the people through the readings,[44] "Christ is present to the faithful through his own word,"[45] the people are "fed by this word,"[46] the readings "lay the table of God's word for the faithful,"[47] the acclamations of the people at the time of the Gospel "acknowledge Christ present and speaking to them."[48]

This language and imagery pose two problems:

(1) *Virtual and Substantial.* Christ is indeed present to us in a certain sense when we hear His words proclaimed in Scripture. But this presence, once again, is only *virtual.* It is not *substantial*, i.e., the same as His Real Presence under the species of bread and wine after the Consecration.

In the GI, we have both presences jumbled together on the same level. Thus the "overemphasis on the Real Presence" that Bouyer said "degraded" a correct understanding of the Mass[49] simply disappears.

(2) *Nourishment Imagery.* The GI uses terms such as *nourishment*, *feeding the faithful*, and the *table of God's word* to refer to Scripture readings. In Patino's commentary even the Homily is described as "the communion of the Word which is completed in sacramental Communion."[50]

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41. §8: "Missa duabus partibus quodammodo constat, liturgia nempe verbi et eucharistica, quae tam arcte inter se coniunguntur, ut unum actum cultus efficiant. Siquidem in Missa mensa tam verbi Dei quam Corporis Christi paratur e qua fideles instituantur et reficiantur." DOL 1398.
42. §9: "Elementum maximi momenti liturgiae." DOL 1399 translates this as: "a principal element of the liturgy."
43. Ibid.
44. §33, DOL 1423.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. §34, DOL 1424.
48. §35, DOL 1425.
49. LP, 80.
50. OMP, 86.

This is another modernist sleight of hand with metaphors. When one speaks about the Mass, allusions to spiritual nourishment are normally employed only to refer to the *communion* section of the Mass. To speak of listening to a Scripture reading as nourishment is to equate it with reception of the Blessed Sacrament, *the* spiritual nourishment. And that, of course, was the point. The GI's fuzzy imagery and equivocal language lead to the conclusion that listening to a Scripture reading and receiving the Eucharist are just about the same thing; Christ is present at either "table."

But this is not the first time heretics would try to corrupt doctrine through a slippery use of language about presence. A Protestant writer said of Cranmer:

> He allows that the bread and wine may be called the body and blood of Christ; that Christ may be said to be present in the Sacrament; that the word sacrifice may be applied to the Eucharist. But he shows that the meaning which he attached to this terminology is, in his mind, consistent with the denials we have mentioned... Christ is present in the Sacrament as he is present in Baptism, or during prayer, or as the sun is present wherever its warmth is felt.[51]

### 3. WHAT DOES THE MASS RE-PRESENT?

Catholic teaching, once again, is clear. The Council of Trent teaches that the Mass re-presents and commemorates the *Sacrifice of the Cross*.[52] The Mass and the Sacrifice of the Cross are essentially identical; in both, Christ is the sacrificial gift and the sacrificing priest. The only difference is the manner of offering; the Sacrifice of the Cross was a bloody offering, while the Sacrifice of the Mass is an unbloody offering.[53]

Since the Protestant revolt, heretics have repeatedly attacked the Church's teaching on this point. It is, like propitiation and transubstantiation, a belief that separates the Catholic from the non-Catholic, and is another ecumenical stumbling block.

The solution in the 1969 GI was not to deny the Catholic teaching directly, but to replace it. Thus GI §48, which describes the significance and finality of the Liturgy of the Eucharist in the New Mass,[54] begins:

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51. Darwell Stone, *History of the Doctrine of the Eucharist* (London: 1909) 2:127, quoted in ESR, 162.

52. Msgr. Joseph Pohl, *The Sacraments, A Dogmatic Treatise*, ed. by Arthur Preuss (St. Louis: B. Herder 1957) 2:333.

53. Ibid. 337.

54. Thus Brandolini, "Aspetti Pastorali," 400.

> *The Last Supper*, at which Christ instituted the memorial of his death and resurrection, *becomes continually present* in the Church as the priest, representing Christ the Lord, carries out what the Lord did and handed over to his disciples to do in his memory as he instituted the sacrifice and the paschal meal.[55]

Similarly §55.d, which treats the Narration of the Institution — formerly, the Consecration:

> *The narration of the institution: wherein by the words and actions of Christ the Last Supper is made present*, in which Christ the Lord himself instituted the sacrament of his passion and resurrection when he gave his apostles his Body and Blood under the species of bread and wine to eat and drink, and left with them the mandate to perpetuate this same mystery.[56]

There are at least two errors here.

(1) "Supper" replaces "Cross." The ecumenically acceptable formula that the Mass re-presents the *Last Supper* replaces the teaching of the Council of Trent that the Mass re-presents the *Sacrifice of the Cross*.

(2) *Narration of the Institution*. In place of the Catholic expression *consecration* (which connotes a substantial change in the bread and wine), the 1969 GI adopted the Protestant terminology of a "narration." Protestants believe that their ministers have no special power to consecrate, but that they merely *repeat the story of* (narrate) what happened long ago at the Last Supper.[57]

Thus Article 55.d teaches that in the re-telling of the story of what Christ did on that first Holy Thursday night, the *Last Supper* is re-presented. This is heresy.

## 4. WHO OFFERS THE MASS?

The answer that Catholic doctrine gives to the question "Who offers the Mass?" is, once again, quite simple.

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55. §48: "Cena novissima, in qua Christus memoriale suae mortis et resurrectionis instituit, in Ecclesia continue praesens efficitur cum sacerdos, Christum Dominum repraesentans, idem perficit quod ipse Dominum egit atque discipulis in sui memoriam faciendum tradidit, sacrificium et convivium paschale instituens." DOL 1438, note h. My emphasis.

56. §55.d: "Narratio institutionis: qua verbis et actionibus Christi repraesentatur cena illa novissima, in qua ipse Christus Dominus sacramentum Passionis et Resurrecionis suae instituit, cum Apostolis suum Corpus et Sanguinem sub speciebus panis et vini manducandum et bibendum dedit, iisque mandatum reliquit idem mysterium perpetuandi." Tr. in OMP, 131. My emphasis.

57. Omitting the term "consecration" was also an ecumenical two-for-one to please the Eastern schismatics, who believe that the elements on the altar become the Body and Blood of Christ not at what we call the Words of Consecration, but rather at the *epiclesis*, a prayer invoking the Holy Ghost. See Tillard, 215–7.

*Christ* offers the Mass, and His priests, who possess "the power of performing actions in virtue of Christ's very Person," represent Him.[58] The faithful can also be said to "offer" the Sacrifice — but only insofar as they "unite their hearts in praise, impetration, expiation and thanksgiving with the prayers or intention of the priest, even of the High Priest [Christ] Himself."[59]

Again, these ideas are inimical to ecumenism and modernism, so in the 1969 GI, the real distinctions are all muddled. It is made to seem that the people or the assembly offers or celebrates the Mass, while the priest merely "presides."

**1. The People Offer the Mass.** This notion, in one way or another, is expressed in six passages in the 1969 GI.[60]

The language used implies that the people somehow concelebrate with Christ or the priest, a notion that Pius XII condemned in *Mediator Dei*.[61] Similarly condemned by *Mediator Dei*: the GI's statement that the people, "exercising their priestly function, intercede for all humanity,"[62] or that the people "offer the victim not only through the hands of the priest but also together with him."[63]

But the condemned ideas on lay concelebration seem to be *exactly* what the creators of the New Mass intended to promote. Thus Patino, of Consilium Study Group 10, says that the Mass according to Vatican II:

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58. MD 68–9.

59. MD 93.

60. Thus: The celebration of Mass is "*the action of Christ and the people of God* arrayed hierarchically" (§1, DOL 1391). In the Prayer of the Faithful, "*the people*, exercising their priestly function, *intercede for all humanity*" (§45, DOL 1435). The meaning of the Eucharistic Prayer is that "the *entire congregation joins* itself to Christ in acknowledging the great things God has done and *in offering the sacrifice*" (§54, DOL 1444). The faithful "offer the victim not only through the hands of the priest but also *together with him*" (§62, DOL 1452). The people "should become one body ... above all by *offering the sacrifice together*" (§62, DOL 1452). "Great importance should be attached to a Mass *celebrated by any community* ... This is particularly true of the community's celebration of the Lord's Day" (§75, DOL 1465). My emphasis.

61. MD 83. "The people are possessed of a true priestly power, while the priest only acts in virtue of an office committed to him by the community. Wherefore, they look on the Eucharistic Sacrifice as a "concelebration" in the literal meaning of the term, and consider it more fitting that priests should "concelebrate" with the people present than that they should offer the Sacrifice privately when the people are absent."

62. See MD 84. The people, Pius XII teaches, "in no sense" represent the Divine Redeemer, are not their own mediator and can in no way possess the sacerdotal power.

63. MD 92. "In this most important subject it is necessary, in order to avoid giving rise to a most dangerous error, that we define the exact meaning of the word 'offer.' The unbloody immolation at the words of consecration, when Christ is made present upon the altar in the state of a victim, is performed *by the priest and by him alone, as the representative of Christ and not as the representative of the faithful.*" My emphasis.

> is not an act of the priest with whom the people unite themselves, as the Mass used to be explained. The Eucharist is, rather, an act of the people, whom the ministers serve by making Christ present sacramentally."[64]

In the General Instruction, moreover:

> *The Eucharist is presented not as an act of the celebrant with whom the people unite themselves*, but as an *act of God's people*. So it is important that a pastoral celebration manifest this view, and not fall into the error of making the people's participation seem less than the minister's.[65]

The people's participation, Patino continued, "is not on the same level as that of the celebrant," but they have two distinct roles. It is merely a question of function:

> [The] function of the celebrant, insofar as it is distinct from that of the faithful, is only ministerial: through him the faithful unite themselves to Christ and *with Christ they celebrate the Eucharist*. Therefore, the Eucharist is an act of Christ and an act of the people of God.[66]

Taken at face value, this is heresy — and it is a heresy based on the 1969 General Instruction.

Similarly, Brandolini, another of Consilium's experts. The pastoral and catechetical consequences of the people's active participation foreseen in the New Mass, he says, are no less than revolutionary, and:

> really spring forth from the principle that the assembly, this concrete assembly which performs the Mass, is the subject which celebrates, from which one cannot and absolutely must not prescind.[67]

Note: the *assembly* is the "subject which celebrates."

Following the lead given by the 1969 GI, a whole generation of liturgists promptly took up and promoted the idea that the people who are present

64. OMP, 70–1.

65. OMP, 71. My emphasis.

66. Ibid. My emphasis.

67. "Aspetti Pastorali," 389: "Le conseguenze pastorali e catechetiche di questa intuizione, apparentemente scontata, ma in realtà rivoluzionaria, sono molte e impegnative, come si vedrà, e scaturiscono proprio dal principio che l'assemblea, questa concreta assemblea che fa la Messa, è il soggetto celebrante, dal quale non si può e non si deve assolutamente prescindere."

celebrate the Mass.[68]

**2. The Priest "Presides."** If, according to the GI, the assembly now somehow concelebrates the Mass with Christ, what is the priest's role? That of "presidency over the assembly." The GI refers to the priest twice as *president*,[69] calls the prayers he says *presidential*,[70] and says seven times that he *presides* over the assembly.[71]

(1) *Ancient Tradition Revived?* Modernist writers claim that *president* is — what else? — another return to ancient tradition. One liturgist cites nine ancient Christian authors or sources which contain references or allusions to the celebrant of the Eucharist as *president*.[72] The passage most frequently quoted appears in the *First Apology* of St. Justin Martyr (ca. AD 150) in a description of a second-century Mass. The pertinent parts of the text follow:

> Then bread and a cup of wine are brought to the president of the brethren... And after the president has given thanks (made the Eucharist) and all the people have cried out, those who are called by us deacons give to each one present to share the Eucharistic bread and wine and water, and to carry them to those not present... [T]he president sends up prayers and likewise thanksgivings... [W]hat has been collected is handed over to the President and he supports orphans and widows and those who are in difficulties through sickness or any other cause... and in general he is the protector of all who are in want.[73]

Does this passage then clinch the historical case for *president*? Not neces-

68. Thus: "[The laity are] re-enfranchised as co-celebrants of the sacraments, and especially of the eucharist. It is significant that the new liturgical books do not speak of the priest as 'the celebrant.' They refer to him simply as 'the priest' or 'the presider.' *The whole assembly of the church, clergy and laity together, is celebrant.*" Ralph A. Keifer, *The Mass in Time of Doubt: The Meaning of the Mass for Catholics Today* (Washington DC: National Association of Pastoral Musicians 1983), 57. My emphasis. "[More recent studies] have stressed the liturgical assembly as the primary celebrant of the Eucharist since all Christians are baptized to priesthood. The distinctive roles of those who are ordained to the presbyterate and so commissioned to preside at the Eucharist and those who make up the congregation are thus viewed as complementary within the unity of the assembled community." R. Kevin Seasoltz, Introduction, LB, xiii. Seasoltz's statement is heretical; it is a rehash of Luther and Calvin.

69. §11, DOL 1401; §13, DOL 1403.

70. §10, DOL 1400; §12, DOL 1402.

71. §7, DOL 1397, note a; §10, DOL 1400; §59, DOL 1449 (3 times); §60, DOL 1450, note c.; §271, DOL 1661.

72. *The Didache*, *The Letter of Clement to the Corinthians*, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Justin Martyr, St. Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and a "canonical tradition" allegedly deriving from Hippolytus. See Hervé-Marie Legrand, "The Presidency of the Eucharist According to the Ancient Tradition" (*Worship* 53 [September 1979], 413–38), in LB, 199–211.

73. Chapters 65.3, 65.5, 67.5, and 67.6, tr. in TM, 18–21.

sarily. Fortescue's 1912 commentary gives the Greek for the word in question in a footnote; he says it refers to the *bishop*,[74] the usual celebrant of the Mass in the time of St. Justin, and responsible as well for supporting widows and orphans. And Consilium member Father Henry Ashworth, in an article defending the word *president*, translates the Greek word into Latin as *antistites*[75] — the very word used in the Canon of the traditional Mass to signify *bishop* — rather than as *praeses*, the term that the 1969 GI employs.

Moreover, it is also possible that St. Justin used the word *president* in the *Apology* because the work was a defense of Christianity written for the pagan emperor Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61). Had St. Justin used the Greek word for *priest*, there would have been a danger that the emperor could have confused the Christian priesthood with the pagan priesthood. The Greek word for *president*, on the other hand, was a neutral word, easily understood by the pagans.[76]

(2) *Or Presidency Today?* The real question about presidency, however, is not what it meant to St. Justin in the second century, but what it means to liturgists *today*. Their interest in returning to primitive Christianity, after all, concerns only those ancient practices that fit neatly into the modernist theological system. (Who, after all, ever heard a liturgist advocate restoring such primitive Christian practices as requiring women to wear veils at Mass, separating the sexes in church on opposite sides of a curtain, imposing public penances for sins of adultery or announcing that heretics, Jews and pagans had to leave?)

The term *president* comes from the Latin word *praesideo*, which means "to sit before, to protect, to take care of" or "to preside over, manage, direct or govern." Thus, one who presides:

> assists at an operation performed by another, surveying it or directing it. Consequently, to preside at an action (the construction of a building, for example) is not the same as accomplishing that action one's self.[77]

It is easy to see how presidency fits neatly into the Bouyer/Brilioth assembly theology paradigm. If in the GI, the assembly appears to concelebrate the Eucharist with Christ, the presider must then assist the assembly in its concelebration by acting as a conduit for its will. Since *to preside* means nothing more than to direct or to govern, it does not *necessarily* have a sacramental character associated with it.

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74. *proestos*, TM, 18n4.

75. "De Cena Domini," 143–6.

76. See Legrand, in LB, 204. Legrand, naturally, dismisses the idea that the word *proestoos* was deliberately chosen.

77. Myra Davidoglou, "Analyse du Nouveau Rite," supplement to *Matines* 13 (1978), 19–20.

Modern liturgists describe presidency as "a service of leadership in a common and participatory action called 'liturgy,'"[78] and the "second most essential" ministerial function, after that of the congregation.[79] It is merely the "liturgical dimension of the pastoral charge."[80] The priest is now "the Director of the Assembly."[81]

(3) *In the Person of Christ?* Defenders of the 1969 GI cited three passages as expressing the traditional teaching that the priest acts as Christ's representative. These paragraphs state that the priest is presiding over the assembly in the name of Christ,[82] that he "presides over the assembled congregation in the person of Christ"[83] and that he is "representing Christ the Lord."[84]

But, as one commentator has pointed out, the Instruction never really specifies what these phrases mean.[85] Other passages imply that the celebrant is just a president of the assembly — nothing more — and that his principal function during the course of the Mass is to represent the gathered faithful who celebrate.

Thus, Patino observes that the General Instruction views the Mass not as an act of the celebrant, but "of God's people;"[86] all members of the assembly "exercise the priesthood that was given them by their baptism"[87] and "in the acts proper to the priest as president, the stress is on his relationship with the community in whose name he addresses God."[88]

(4) *The Chatty Presider.* One common complaint from conservatives who assist at the New Mass is that many priests introduce informally phrased comments at various points throughout the course of the service.

But the GI itself makes generous provision for this presidential chatter; the priest is now *supposed* to give little instructions throughout the course of the Mass. The GI and at least one official Vatican document says this is "up to the priest in the exercise of his office of presiding over the assembly."[89]

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78. Rev. Robert W. Hovda, *Strong, Loving and Wise: Presiding in Liturgy* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 1976), 7. Also Crichton, *Christian Celebration*, 62.
79. Hovda, 53–4.
80. See Legrand, in LB, 196–221.
81. OMP, 48.
82. §10, DOL 1400.
83 . §60: "Etiam presbyter celebrans coetui congregato in persona Christi praeest."
84. §48, DOL 1438, note h.
85. Da Silveira, *La Nouvelle Messe*, 31.
86. OMP, 71.
87. OMP, 142.
88. OMP, 62.
89. §11, DOL 1401. See also SC Divine Worship, Circular Letter *Eucharistiae Participationem*, 27 April 1973, DOL 1975–93.

Not only this, but according to the GI, the presider should also *dialogue* with you:

> Since the celebration of Mass by its very nature has a "communal" character, there is a special value in both the dialogues between the celebrant and congregation and the acclamations; for they are not only outward signs of the communal celebration, but also foster and bring about communion between the priest and the people.[90]

Note how the passage attempts to transform a psychological or social act into something quasi-sacramental — "dialogues" have a "special value," since they bring about "communion." Pity the Catholics who for centuries only had the Body of Christ to bring about communion.

That psychology and communications theory, rather than Catholic sacramental theology, are the basis for presidency in the New Mass is evident from the language that contemporary liturgists use in reference to a priest who is a "good president"; "style," "performance," "warmth," "effectiveness," etc.

Patino's 1969 commentary on the GI, for instance, says that the priest is "both president of the assembly and performer of the Word" who must "preside effectively throughout the celebration" and who "intervenes" at three important moments: for the Collects, for the Preface and for the Eucharistic Prayer.[91] "The office of presiding over a Eucharistic assembly requires that the celebrant has the ability to attract the attention of the people from the first moment he speaks." The celebrant should try for a "moderate degree of enthusiasm" in his speech, and the exhortations which he makes to the assembly should sound as though they were improvised, so that they will sound more "lively and warm."[92]

After the introduction of the New Mass, a whole generation of priests took these ideas to their logical conclusion by turning their Masses into performances.[93] Where deacons once learned the rubrics for the Mass, they now take courses in "presidential style." An American priest, Robert Hovda, wrote a highly influential best-seller on the topic that was loaded with all sorts of

90. §14, DOL 1404.
91. OMP, 56.
92. OMP, 95.
93. The presider must proclaim the Eucharistic Prayer "in such a way that the congregation is able to experience it as its prayer. This makes great demands on quality performance by the presider." Smits, "Congregational Order of Worship," in LB, 297.

performance tips.[94]

While these humanistic and de-supernaturalizing ideas seem utterly crazy, they merely implement principles that the GI itself enunciated. If the assembly celebrates the Mass and the priest exercises his presidency over the assembly through instructions and dialogue, then he must help the people celebrate "actively," i.e., outwardly. He must attract their attention and interest by performing for them, communicating with them, using eye contact, clowning a bit, and so on. The priest becomes an actor, a performer, an animator whose goal is to be convincing, persuasive and attractive so that the assembly's celebration will be more "effective."

It all operates on a purely natural level, and represents the degradation of the Catholic priesthood and the inversion of the Mass. The attention of the assembly turns not to God but to the communicator, the "dialoguer," the animator, the prompter, the actor, the clown, the performer, the president — who has come very far indeed from being the anonymous instrument whose only privilege and only duty was to offer the perfect sacrifice in his Master's name.

## 5. THE DEREGULATION OF THE LITURGY

Though the 1969 GI explains the theological principles behind the New Mass, most of the document is given over to providing the practical, "how-to" directions for celebrating the rite, what in the pre-Vatican II liturgical books would be called rubrics. When we turn to the Order of Mass itself, we will examine the particular directions in the GI that deal with each individual section of the rite.

In this section, however, we will look at something more general: the *nature* of the GI's liturgical directions. This, as we shall see, not only has consequences that endanger Catholic doctrine, but also accounts for the fact that

94. See Hovda. Some of his pointers: The business of the Church "is to create a consensus sensitivity" in worship (6). One function of the presider is that he "facilitates, discreetly yields the focus to the one who is operating at a particular moment, guides, prompts when necessary, leads the congregation in attending to the action" (17). The presider has "a very special need to become a body person, at home in the flesh, moving gracefully and expressively, gesturing spontaneously, saying something to the people by style in walking as well as in talking, communicating by the rhythm and articulation of the whole person, knowing how to dress up and wear clothing, etc. You can call it 'soul,'as many do" (31). It's a bit hard to imagine that St. Justin Martyr felt a need "to become a body person." Hovda wanted to see "a generation of presiders who want to be fools, jesters, given to fantasy, who don't mind dressing up in crazy chasubles and doing unproductive things" (43), a wish, alas, which seems to have come true. Being a presider means, "consenting to be a focal point in the action, being in constant communication with the other ministers and the entire assembly through eye contact, gesture, body posture and movement, as well as word" (57). When the presider gives Communion to an individual, "That moment offers an opportunity for a locking of the eyes and a touching of the hands in respectful attention and mutual encouragement" (71).

you never know what to expect at Mass when you walk into an unfamiliar Catholic church for Mass — what one could call, and not unfairly, the "Bugnini-Montini Surprise Factor."

The latter has always been a particular sore point for conservatives (and I was once among them) who yearn for a "reverent" celebration of the New Mass, but face a post-Vatican II liturgical gamut running from American suburban casual to high-toned aestheticism to Newman Center feel-good to Mariachi to EWTN wannabee.

**1. Liturgical Law and Catholic Doctrine.** The Surprise Factor would have struck the pre-Vatican II Catholic as bizarre. The rite of the Mass itself was pretty much the same from parish to parish, and indeed from country to country. You knew what to expect.

This was so because a uniform code of *laws* minutely regulated the Catholic liturgy. The priest who celebrated Mass was bound by church law and the principles of moral theology to use the texts and to perform the rites prescribed in the Missal. Apart from the freedom on certain days to select a Votive Mass formulary or an extra devotional collect from the Missal, the priest had *no* options, and certainly *no* opportunity for personal creativity. If he wanted to train altar boys, teach the choir approved chants, buy nice vestments, decorate the church for feasts, fine. But for the liturgical texts and actions of the Mass, he had the Missal and the rubrics. That was it — no surprises.

In his 1954 doctoral thesis at Catholic University, Father Frederick McManus, later a member of Consilium and one of the wild-man liturgists of the post-Vatican II era, noted (or perhaps, lamented):

> It is almost impossible to find rubrics in the liturgical books which are merely directive, that is, which give a direction or command while leaving complete liberty of action.[95]

We have already mentioned Richstatter's pithy, three-word summary of the pre-Vatican II rationale for such regulation: *doctrine*, *discipline*, *ceremonies*. The Church regarded her ceremonies of worship as intimately connected with her *doctrine* and her *discipline*. She viewed the liturgy principally as a

95. *The Congregation of Rites*, CUA Canon Law Studies No. 352 (Washington: CUA Press 1954), 136.

means of grace subordinate to faith and morals.[96]

Thus in *Mediator Dei*, Pius XII taught that the liturgy is intimately bound up with doctrinal propositions which the Church proposes as true; the liturgy, therefore, must conform to the teaching authority of the Church with a view to safeguarding the integrity of the religion revealed by God, and it bears public witness to the faith of the Church.[97]

So, in order to protect Catholic doctrine, *everything* in the liturgy had to be regulated.

**2. Official Deregulation.** In the post-Vatican II liturgy, the former type of regulation, and the protection it afforded the Catholic faith, is gone.

The rationale for abolishing it may be traced back to Jungmann's theory of pastoral liturgy: the liturgy must above all be adapted to the "needs of the people."[98] The priest on the local level best understands these needs, so he must be allowed wide latitude to adapt the liturgy accordingly.

Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy enshrined this principle by recommending that the rites be revised to provide for "legitimate variations and adaptations to different groups, regions and peoples."[99]

Though the generation of neo-conservative clergy that started to appear in the 1990s tended to look upon the ritual directions for the *Novus Ordo* as the equivalent of the old rubrics — "Do the red, say the black," is a popular saying in such circles — even the most punctilious hermeneutic of the GI still allows for a liturgy that is half-regulated and subject on endless points to nothing more than whim and personal taste.

Sure, you can dress the New Mass up in *your* church with a Gregorian Introit, a recollected demeanor, lace-surpliced acolytes and Eucharistic Prayer 1 recited *ad Orientem*; but the pastor in the *next* parish can choose a peppy guitar ditty for his Entrance Song, deliver chatty "brief instructions" throughout the service, surround himself with earringed altar girls, and give a dramatic reading of Eucharistic Prayer for Various Needs (our "journey of life!"), while facing his congregation across an altar that looks like the butcher block down at the meat market. Both Masses will be "legal" under the provisions

96. *Liturgical Law*, 6. Though popes did exercise their universal authority in matters liturgical during the Church's first fifteen centuries (see McManus, 14–21), until the papal liturgical books eventually came to be used more widely, there was in fact some diversity in liturgical rites in the West. The centralized regulation of every aspect of public worship was established after the Council of Trent in order to curb widespread abuses, and to protect the liturgy from the incursions of the heretics; such centralization was made feasible by the invention of the printing press, which could make the approved texts readily available.

97. MD 45–7.

98. See Chapter 2.

99. SC §38, DOL 38.

of the GI.

These and countless other permutations, together with the attendant Surprise Factor, are possible only because the GI and subsequent Vatican pronouncements have intentionally deregulated large portions of the New Mass. The rules in the GI thus allow the priest or the parish liturgy committee to:

(1) *Select one text or rite for use from a number of fixed texts or rites.* (Penitential Rite, orations, scripture readings, Responsorial Psalms, Gospel Acclamations, Prefaces, Eucharistic prayers, blessings).

(2) *Omit or adapt certain texts or rites.*

(3) *Introduce or invent texts as one sees fit.* (Entrance Songs, introductory commentaries by the priest at several points throughout the Mass, Prayers of Faithful, Offertory Songs, Communion Songs).

Points (1) and (2) destroy any sense of universality or unity in the Church's liturgical prayer. All such practical choices can be made at the local level. The liturgy then becomes like a chain of buffet restaurants where diners get to select the dishes that appeal to them.

Point (3) is the real wild card. Whoever plans the liturgy in a parish (the pastor, a lay minister, a musician, etc.) determines the contents of these texts, which then becomes an integral part of what is considered the official liturgical prayer of the Church. They could be anything or say anything, but it's all "legal" under the GI.

With a document like the GI that specifically permits such horrors, attempting to opt for a 1930s-style "conservative" rubricism is a retreat from the reality into a fantasy world — and I can say that because I spent several years there myself.

**3. Higher Principles and Pluralism.** In addition to these unnerving particular details in the GI, there is the character of the document overall.

In the case of the 1969 General Instruction, even its very *name* — instruction, instead of, as formerly, *The Rite to be Followed in the Celebration of Mass* — indicates the shift to a de-regulated liturgy. From this re-labeling, liturgists concluded, not unreasonably, that the goal of "pastoral effectiveness" was to take precedence over the individual regulations that the GI contained.[100]

100. "The new liturgical books are accompanied by General Instructions, a new step in the books of the Roman Rite; the purpose of the General Instruction is to say how the book is to be used and what it means. The directions in the General Instructions take precedence over the minute details in the pages of the book itself, and the first directive states that liturgical celebration is to be 'pastorally effective' — intelligible, aiding the participation of the people." Ralph A. Keifer, *To Give Thanks and Praise: General Instruction of the Roman Missal with Commentary for Musicians and Priests* (Washington DC: National Association of Pastoral Musicians 1980), 113–4.

Indeed already in 1969, when the ink on the GI was barely dry, Peter Coughlan said that the document "is intended as an aid and guide rather than a series of rules."[101] Following the same liturgical pattern in every parish for the New Mass, "is not only undesirable but actually impossible."[102] Worship must now be "adapted" to different groups of people, because "the ways of belonging to the Church have diversified."[103] Since Coughlan had worked as an assistant to Bugnini in the Secretariat of Consilium, he was certainly in a good position to understand the nature of the GI.

Thus the Surprise Factor, far from being an abuse, is an integral element of the new liturgical system.

The liturgical pluralism that the General Instruction encourages, said Consilium's Brandolini, takes a giant step beyond Vatican II.[104] Pluralism is now "not simply a concession made by the Second Vatican Council; it is a theological imperative... a necessary corollary to the Church's nature to be local."[105]

If (as seems to be the case) there are no *real* rules, where should the priest look for guidance? To another Vatican II concept called "higher principles"—*altiora principia.*

The post-Conciliar liturgical documents, says Richstatter, represent a "new style of legislation [which] implies a new type of obedience... The possibility of choice involves a higher level of principles upon which a choice can be responsibly based."[106] Priests are called upon to give "a new type of obedience,"[107] and those who "adapt" the liturgy, far from being disobedient, are merely "trying to be obedient to this dimension of the law."[108]

Higher principles, then, make each priest a liturgical law unto himself, free to follow the beat of his own distant drummer — or for that matter, even install the drummer next to the president's chair.

In 1973 the deregulation and pluralism was officially extended to Masses celebrated for groups of children. A Vatican directory created by Bugnini himself and approved by Paul VI[109] allowed celebrants a near-total freedom to change and create texts and ceremonies in such celebrations as they saw fit.

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101. PGC, 33.
102. PGC, 143.
103. PGC, 22.
104. "Aspetti Pastorali," 390–1.
105. Seasoltz, *New Liturgy*, 189.
106. *Liturgical Law,* 163.
107. *Liturgical Law*, xi.
108. *Liturgical Law*, 165.
109. SC Divine Worship, Directory for Masses with Children, *Pueros Baptizatos*, 1 November 1973, DOL 2134–88.

The resulting celebrations were generally sacrilegious and uniformly silly.[110]

There were also calls for "indigenization," that is, incorporating wholesale into the liturgy local cultural practices. Pagan ritual and cultural practices have already been introduced into the New Mass in many non-Western nations.[111] Mgr. Bugnini's memoirs glowingly list the multitude of adaptations officially approved for Thailand, Pakistan, India, Laos, Cambodia, Japan, China, Zambia, The Congo, and Zaire,[112] including liturgical dance in Africa[113] and the celebration of Chinese New Year, which, as he notes, was condemned as superstitious by Pope Benedict XIV.[114]

The grand prize for post-Vatican II liturgical indigenization, however, goes to the "Papal Mass" that John Paul II celebrated on 8 May 1984 in Paupua, New Guinea, where a bare-breasted native woman read the Epistle.[115]

Beginning in the mid-1980s, Vatican officials of a more conservative bent (Joseph Ratzinger included) periodically tried to rein in some of the wilder liturgical practices that pluralism has spawned. But ultimately this is Canute commanding the waves. The nature of GI itself undermines the notion that the new legislation has the same binding force as the old rubrics.

Of all the dangerous principles in the 1969 General Instruction, its deregulation of the liturgy was perhaps the most corrosive to the Catholic faith. When liturgy is unregulated, the faith it expresses is left unregulated and endangered as well.

And about that, there should be no surprise whatsoever.

## SUMMARY

• The 1969 the *General Instruction on the Roman Missal* (GI) contains not only the ritual directions for celebrating the Mass of Paul VI, but also the theological principles behind it. The creators of the New Mass envisioned the GI as theological exposition or doctrinal presentation to help one understand the nature and significance of the elements of the new rite. As such, the 1969 GI should be treated as their "theological blueprint" for the *Novus Ordo Missae.*

110. For an excellently documented account, see Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 169–93.

111. For a brief discussion of African and Indian adaptations, see William J. Freburger, *Liturgy: Work of the People* (Mystic CT: Twenty-Third Publications 1984), 83–90. See also the list of extensive adaptations approved for India in "Acta Conferentiarum Episcopalium: India," *Notitiae* 5 (1969), 363–74.

112. RL, 263–74.

113. RL, 274.

114. RL, 270.

115. See (with due custody of the eyes) Daniel LeRoux, *Peter, Lovest Thou Me?* (Victoria Australia: Instauratio Press 1988), 154.

• In place of the traditional definition of the essence of the Mass as *sacrifice*, paragraph 7 of the GI defines the Mass as *assembly*. This "defines the Mass exactly" and is "the great sign which defines and qualifies the whole celebration."

• The GI's definition is a reworking of Louis Bouyer's assembly theology of the Mass, which was itself based on the Eucharistic teaching of the Swedish Lutheran ecumenist Yngve Brilioth. It also reflects the existentialist theology of Vatican II.

• Individual elements in the definition (*Lord's Supper, people of God, memorial*, etc.) were adopted "in an explicitly ecumenical spirit," and were "the fruits of doctrinal convergence" with heretics.

• The four "irreducible elements" of the Eucharist proposed by Bouyer/Brilioth (meal, sacrifice, thanksgiving, memorial) then surface throughout the rest of the GI.

• *Sacrifice* thus becomes merely one element among four. The GI then defuses the ecumenical dangers of this term by (1) employing it with meal imagery to blunt it, and (2) avoiding explicit references to the Mass as a sacrifice of propitiation (making satisfaction for sin), because this doctrine is repugnant to heretics.

• The GI seizes instead on *memorial*, a term understood one way by Catholics and another way by Protestants. The equivocal meaning of *memorial* made it a "precious term" in ecumenical theology, which is the reason it was employed in the 1969 GI.

• In its treatment of the presence of Christ at Mass, the GI omits the term *transubstantiation*, a term detested by Protestants and modernists.

• The GI introduces at least two other presences of Christ: in the *assembly* and in *Scripture*.

• These presences were denominated as "real" by Bouyer and Paul VI's Encyclical *Mysterium Fidei*. This devaluation-by-inflation method placed the new "presences" on the same level as *the* Real Presence, and became a springboard for ignoring transubstantiation altogether, as is evident from reading the comments of modern liturgists.

• In its treatment of the "presence of Christ" in Scripture, the 1969 GI (1) confuses virtual and substantial presence, and (2) improperly equates listening to a scripture reading with receiving Communion.

• In place of the Tridentine teaching that the Mass re-presents the *Sacrifice of the Cross*, the GI teaches that the Mass re-presents the *Last Supper*.

• The GI replaced the Catholic expression *Consecration* with the Protestant expression *Narration of the Institution*.

• According to the 1969 GI, it seems that the *assembly* offers the Mass,

while the priest merely *presides.*

• The term *president* in a passage by St. Justin Martyr that is often cited to justify the use of the term in the 1969 GI may have been nothing more than a convenient way of referring to the *bishop*, who was the ordinary celebrant of the Mass in the early Church.

• The Church's rationale for her minute regulation of the liturgy before Vatican II can be conveniently summed up in the three-word phrase: *doctrine, discipline, ceremonies.* The Church regarded her *ceremonies* as intimately connected with her *doctrine* and her *discipline.* Since the liturgy bore public witness to the faith of the Church, everything in it had to be carefully regulated.

• With the New Mass, however, one never knows what one will encounter when assisting at Mass in an unfamiliar church — the Bugnini-Montini Surprise Factor.

• This phenomenon is the result of the GI, which intentionally deregulated large portions of the New Mass, allowing priests or parish committees to (1) select one text or rite from a number of fixed texts or rites, (2) omit or adapt certain texts or rites, and (3) introduce or invent texts as one sees fit.

• These factors destroy any sense of universality in prayer, and in the case of (3) allow one to introduce as an integral part of liturgical prayer, virtually any religious idea one pleases.

• The character of the GI overall is "a new style of legislation" based on "higher principles," an "aid and a guide, rather than a series of rules." Those who adapt the liturgy, far from being disobedient, "are trying to be obedient to this dimension of the law."

• The feature of the 1969 GI that was perhaps the most corrosive to the Catholic faith was its deregulation of the liturgy.

Chapter 6

# The 1970 General Instruction: "The Cleverness of the Revisers"

THE READER who contacts his parish Director of Worship (usually, it's a woman, often an ex-nun) and borrows a copy of her altar Missal in order to examine the incriminating passages in the 1969 *General Instruction on the Roman Missal* that we mentioned in the previous chapter will come away mystified. The more objectionable material seems to have been changed. Moreover, he will discover a document called the Foreword or Introduction, containing all sorts of traditional-sounding terminology, as well as repeated assurances that the Missal you hold in your hands utterly, completely and unquestionably manifests the Council of Trent's teaching on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

Now, how did *this* get there? And doesn't it somehow guarantee that with the Mass of Paul VI all is well after all?

The answer to these questions is the topic of this chapter. When the New Mass and the 1969 GI first appeared, they immediately provoked controversy and considerable resistance. This led to the publication of *The Ottaviani Intervention*, a theological critique of the New Mass that would in effect become the charter of the traditionalist movement. In response, the Vatican and even Paul VI himself publicly defended the orthodoxy of the new rite, and then issued a revised version of the GI that sought to "Tridentine-ize" the Protestant and modernist theology of the original. This, with some subsequent modifications, is substantially the text of the GI that now appears in the front of altar Missals used for the New Mass.

It should be noted once again that, from the very beginning of the controversy over the New Mass in 1969, those Catholics who rejected it did so on *doctrinal* and *moral* grounds — that it was Protestant, modernist, anti-Tridentine, harmful to the faith, sacrilegious, etc. Factors like the beauty of the old Mass and its sentimental appeal, or the ugliness of the New Mass and its departure from theories of organic development, did not figure in the equation. The objectors knew or cared little about such questions: They rejected the *Novus Ordo Missae* of Paul VI because it was "the great sacrilege" or "the Mass of Luther."

In this chapter we will examine: (1) The origins and content of *The Ottaviani Intervention*, together with the Vatican's response and Paul VI's

defense of the New Mass in November 1969. (2) The new Foreword, which was written to defend the orthodoxy of the New Mass and inserted into the full Missal when it was finally published in 1970. (3) The revised 1970 GI, which attempted to cover over some of the more obvious errors of the 1969 GI by "Tridentine-izing" them. (4) Our analysis of the deceptive nature of these changes.

## THE OTTAVIANI INTERVENTION

By the time that Paul VI promulgated the *Novus Ordo Missae* and the General Instruction on 3 April 1969, conservative Catholics — they would later be called "traditionalists" — had endured nearly five years of continuous liturgical change, each stage of which appeared to bring the Mass closer to Protestantism and closer to the teaching of the modernist theologians who sought to subvert the Church from within. In the New Order of Mass and the General Instruction, Protestantism and the new theology seemed to have triumphed. But what to do?

In the conservative camp were two members of the Roman aristocracy, Vittoria Cristina Guerrini and Emilia Pediconi. Both were friends of Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani (then retired from his post as Prefect of the Holy Office), and both had wide connections at the Vatican and in other ecclesiastical circles. The ladies used their contacts to bring together a small group of conservative theologians, liturgists and pastors who would prepare a study of the contents of the New Order of Mass. Cardinal Ottaviani agreed — it is unclear at exactly what point — to revise the study and to present it to Paul VI.[1]

The group met a number of times in April and May 1969. The task of preparing a suitable text fell to a Dominican theologian and philosopher, Father M.L. Guérard des Lauriers, then a professor at the Pontifical Lateran University in Rome. Working from his notes in French, Guérard dictated a text in French to Madame Guerrini, who simultaneously translated it into Italian.[2]

The result was *A Short Critical Study of the New Order of Mass* (*Breve Esame Critico del Novus Ordo Missae*), now known in English-speaking countries as *The Ottaviani Intervention*. At the request of Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, then recently retired from his position as Superior General of the Holy Ghost

1. "Avertissement," in Cardinaux Ottaviani et Bacci, *Bref Examen Critique du Nouvel "Ordo Missae,"* new edition with Italian text, edited and translated into French by M.L. Guérard des Lauriers OP (Vailly-sur-Sauldre, France: Editions Sainte Jeanne d'Arc 1983), 5.
2. "Avertissement," 5–6.

Fathers, Guérard translated the Italian text into French.[3]

Cardinal Ottaviani, for his part, composed a covering letter to Paul VI which supported the *Study*'s conclusions. The organizers hoped to have a large number of high-ranking ecclesiastics sign it along with the cardinal — Lefebvre spoke of six hundred bishops.[4]

From May through September 1969 the organizers lined up at least a dozen cardinals to sign, among them, Arcadio Cardinal Larraona, former head of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Cardinal Ottaviani spent several days examining the *Critical Study* and signed the covering letter on 13 September 1969.

The following day, however, a French traditionalist priest compromised the project by publishing the *Critical Study*, even though it was not supposed to have been made public until a month after the group of cardinals presented it to Paul VI. His action appears to have scared off most of the signers.[5]

Antonio Cardinal Bacci, however, remained undeterred. The Cardinal was a famous Latinist, and during this time served on the Vatican Congregations for Religious, Causes of Saints and Catholic Education. In 1967 Cardinal Bacci had written a laudatory preface to a book which charged that the liturgical reform had betrayed the faith of the Council of Trent, and that the head of Consilium, Cardinal Lercaro, was "Luther resurrected."[6]

Such a prelate did not scare easily. Cardinal Bacci signed the letter on 28 September, and the following day both the letter and the *Critical Study* were presented to Paul VI.

**1. Principal Objections.** The letter of Cardinals Ottaviani and Bacci to Paul VI stated that the theologians' *Critical Study*:

> shows quite clearly that the *Novus Ordo Missae* — considering the new elements susceptible to widely different interpretations which are implied or taken for granted — represents, both as a whole and in its details, a striking departure from the Catholic theology of the Mass as it was formulated in Session 22 of the Council of Trent. The "canons" of the rite definitively fixed at that time erected an insurmountable barrier against any heresy which might attack the integrity of the Mystery....

3. "Avertissement," 7. Guérard lost his position at the Lateran as a result of his involvement in the project. He later taught at Lefebvre's seminary in Ecône, Switzerland, and was consecrated a bishop in 1981 by the retired archbishop of Hué, Mgr. Pierre-Martin Ngô-dinh-Thuc. I had the honor of having Father Guérard as a professor at Ecône.

4. "Avertissement," 7.

5. Based on an account by one of the organizers, Dr. Elizabeth Gerstner, a résumé of which is provided in Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 483–4.

6. The work was Tito Casini, *La Tunica Stracciata* (The Torn Tunic), (Rome: 1967).

> The innovations in the *Novus Ordo* and the fact that all that is of perennial value finds only a minor place — if it subsists at all — could well turn into a certainty the suspicion, already prevalent, alas, in many circles, that truths which have always been believed by the Christian people can be changed or ignored without infidelity to that sacred deposit of doctrine to which the Catholic faith is bound forever.[7]

The central contention of *The Ottaviani Intervention* was that the New Order of Mass teems with dangerous errors in doctrine and represents an attack against the Catholic teaching on the Mass defined by the Council of Trent. The authors of the *Intervention* stated that their intention was not to present an exhaustive treatment of all the problems the New Mass posed, but rather to point out those deviations from Catholic doctrine and practice which are most typical of the New Mass. These included many of the errors that we have already mentioned in Chapter 5:

- A new definition of the Mass as an "assembly" rather than as a sacrifice offered to God.
- Omissions of elements emphasizing the Catholic teaching (utterly repudiated by Protestants) that the Mass makes satisfaction for sins.
- The reduction of the priest's role to a position approximating that of a Protestant minister.
- Implicit denials of Christ's Real Presence and the doctrine of transubstantiation.
- The change of the Consecration from a sacramental action into a mere narrative retelling of the story of the Last Supper.
- The fragmenting of the Church's unity of belief through the introduction of countless options.
- Ambiguous language and equivocation throughout the rite which compromise the Church's doctrines.

These charges the *Intervention* leveled not merely against the General Instruction, but against the New Mass itself.

**2. Roman Reaction.** Once the conservative Catholic press spread the story of the *Intervention* throughout the world, a major scramble ensued at the Vatican.

Though Paul VI had received a copy of the General Instruction in 1968,[8]

7. OI, 27–8.
8. RL, 184.

made final corrections to it just before publication,[9] and personally approved every detail of the New Order of Mass, he sent the *Intervention* to the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on 22 October 1969, with word that they should determine whether or not the criticisms were justified.[10]

On 12 November 1969 the Congregation replied with a letter to the Vatican Secretary of State. In his memoirs, Bugnini says that the 1969 GI was found to conform to the Church's teaching, but instead of reproducing the whole letter, he quotes only one sentence: "The work *Short Critical Study*... contains many statements which are superficial, exaggerated, inexact, impassioned and false."[11]

This is very suspicious. Elsewhere in his memoirs (a work nearly a thousand pages long), Bugnini quotes at great length documents which defended the orthodoxy of the new rite. Had the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith stated that *all* the *Intervention*'s criticisms were utterly unfounded and refuted them point by point, one can be sure that Bugnini would have reproduced the full text of the reply. It would be interesting to learn what the rest of the letter said.

Be that as it may, the members of Consilium met in Rome in early November. "Some difficulty," they noted, "emerged over certain points of the *General Instruction on the Roman Missal*, in particular over Article 7 [the new definition of the Mass]"[12] — an understatement, to be sure, because some were denouncing the *Novus Ordo* as the "heretical Mass."

On 18 November 1969 the Congregation for Divine Worship issued a stiffly-worded Declaration. It stated that Consilium had drawn up the GI "with the collaboration of those highly expert in the theological and pastoral disciplines"; GI "was approved, after careful review," by cardinals and bishops from all over the world — not to mention Paul VI himself. It is:

> an accurate résumé and application of those doctrinal principles and practical norms on the eucharist that are contained in the conciliar Constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (4 December 1963), Paul VI's Encyclical *Mysterium Fidei* (3 September 1965), and the Congregation of Rites' Instruction *Eucharisticum Mysterium* (25 May 1967).[13]

9. RL, 379. Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass,* 506, repeats a "Roman whispers" story — an anonymous French priest who heard it from Cardinal Journet who heard it from? etc. etc. — that a "disobedient" Bugnini withheld the text of the 1969 GI from Paul VI, and that Paul VI "wept." Hogwash. Both Braga ("Punti") and Bugnini (in RL) attest to Paul VI's involvement. And as we have seen, when Montini was archbishop of Milan, he promoted the Bouyer/Brilioth assembly theology of the Mass that would appear in §7 of the 1969 GI.

10. RL, 285.

11. Quoted RL, 285.

12. RL, 193.

13. SC Divine Worship, Declaration *Institutio Generalis Missalis Romani*, 18 November 1969, DOL 1368.

So then, the General Instruction *was* a statement of the doctrinal principles behind the New Mass after all? Not really, said the Congregation:

> Nevertheless, the Instruction should not be looked on as a doctrinal, that is to say, dogmatic document. Rather, *it is a pastoral and ritual instruction*: it outlines the celebration and its parts in the light of the doctrinal principles contained in the documents noted. For the rites both have doctrine as their source and give to doctrine its outward expression. The Instruction thus seeks to provide guidelines for catechesis of the faithful and to offer the main criteria for eucharistic celebration to be used by those who take part in the celebration according to their different orders and ranks.[14]

According to the first quote, then, the GI was an "accurate résumé and application" of doctrinal principles, but according to the second quote, the GI should not be looked upon as a "doctrinal document" — even though it "outlines the celebration and its parts in the light of the doctrinal principles contained in the documents noted."

All this was pure double-talk. But there was more: When the new Missal is published, said the Congregation, the GI will appear at its beginning and:

> In view of what has been said, the Apostolic See will see to any clarification of language that may be needed for a better pastoral and catechetical understanding and for improving rubrics.[15]

However, "what has been said" a few sentences earlier in the Declaration is that the GI is an "accurate" résumé and application of doctrinal principles. If it *was* accurate, why would it have needed "clarification of language"? If anything had to be clarified, it was the Congregation's own clarification.

**3. But Theological After All.** The 18 November Declaration kicked off the campaign to convince wary conservatives that the 1969 General Instruction was merely a "rubrical" or "pastoral" document. Tactically, this was a clever move — a document not intended as a doctrinal statement could hardly misstate doctrine — but it was an outright lie.

Previous statements from members of Consilium, made before the controversy erupted, were absolutely clear in declaring that the GI would present the *theological and doctrinal principles* behind the New Mass. Here is proof:

• After Consilium held a plenary meeting at the Vatican in April 1968, its official publication, *Notitiae*, provided a brief résumé of the work in progress on eight projects, among them, the General Instruction. The following

14. Ibid. DOL 1369. My emphasis.
15. Ibid. DOL 1370.

statement appeared:

> "2. The General Instruction of the Roman Missal. It treats of the *theological principles*, and the pastoral and rubrical norms for the celebration of Mass to be set forth in the Roman Missal. The work has been prepared by a special study group constituted by the Secretariat of Consilium."[16]

• In a 30 August 1968 report to the Medellin Conference of the Latin-American Episcopate, Bugnini, the Secretary of Consilium, stated that:

> "[The General Instruction] is a full *theological*, pastoral, *catechetical*, and rubrical exposition, that it is an introduction to the *understanding* and celebration of the [New] Mass."[17]

• Shortly after the New Order of Mass appeared in 1969, an anonymous member of Consilium (probably Bugnini) wrote a commentary on the GI for *Notitiae*. Speaking of the second chapter, which would soon become a cause of great controversy, he said:

> "This is one of the fundamental chapters of the document. It offers a description of the celebration, not so much from the rubrical and ceremonial point of view, *as rather from the doctrinal point of view*. It brings to light first *the nature and the significance* of the various elements which recur in the celebration: the word of God, presidential prayer, singing, outward postures, silence. Each is presented and explained, because the practical applications afterwards depend on this.... It should be pointed out, finally, that for each part of the Mass both the general rubrical expression and the *doctrinal and pastoral part* are joined in such a way as to make understandable how the entire complex should be presented through an exact and effective ordering of the celebration."[18]

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16. [Annibale Bugnini CM], "Decima Sessio Plenaria 'Consilii,'" *Notitiae* 4 (1968), 181: "2. De Institutione generali pro Missali Romano. Agitur de principiis theologicis et de normis pastoralibus et rubricalibus pro celebratione Missae, Missali Romano praemittendis. Labor paratus est a peculiari coetu a studiis a Secretaria 'Consilii' constituto." My emphasis.

17. *Revista Ecclesiastica Brasiliera* 28 (1968), 628, quoted in da Silveira, 22n20. My emphasis.

18. [Annibale Bugnini CM], "'Ordo Missae et Institutio Generalis,'" *Notitiae* 5 (1969), 151, 153: "È uno dei capitoli fondamentali del documento. Offre la descrizione della celebrazione, non tanto sotto il profilo rubricale e cerimoniale, quanto piuttosto sotto l'aspetto dottrinale. Viene messa in luce prima la natura e il significato dei vari elementi che ricorrono nella celebrazione: parola di Dio, preghiere presidenziali, canto, atteggiamenti esteriori, silenzio. Ciascuno viene presentato e spiegato, perchè da ciò dipendono poi le applicazioni pratiche.... Da rilevare, infine, che per ogni parte della Messa, in questo capitolo vengono congiunte e l'espressione rubricale di carattere generale e la parte dottrinale e pastorale, in modo da far comprendere come tutto questo complesso deve essere tenuto presente per un esatto ed efficace ordinamento della celebrazione." My emphasis. In his 1983 memoirs (RL, 382–3), Bugnini repeats the passage quoted, word for word and without attribution.

The commentator made a similar comment about the GI's third chapter, which likewise would soon become a matter for controversy:

> "This chapter is rather a *doctrinal* and pastoral presentation of the different offices and duties which the different ministers and participants should follow in the celebration."[19]

• In 1969 Father Peter Coughlan, an assistant to Bugnini on Consilium's Secretariat, wrote that the first chapter of the GI is

> "an introduction of *doctrinal character*. The second [chapter] reviews the various elements of the celebration, giving the *doctrinal* and rubrical presentation of each."[20]

• Father Carlo Braga, another of Bugnini's assistants and the principal author of the Instruction itself, wrote that the second chapter of GI (again, the most controversial):

> "...is fundamental to the whole Instruction: It constitutes a sort of "summa" which exposes the sense of the whole celebration and every part of it, and of each of its elements, under a *doctrinal*, pastoral and rubrical aspect."[21]

Even long after the 1969 controversy, Braga continued to insist that the GI was "a liturgical document, but one with a doctrinal and catechetical purpose."[22]

One could cite still more evidence,[23] but we trust that this testimony settles the issue. The 1969 GI was indeed intended not merely as a rubrical document, but was intended to set forth the theology behind the New Mass — a theology which, as we demonstrated in the previous chapter, is Protestant and modernist.

**4. Paul VI Responds.** The campaign to vindicate the New Mass's orthodoxy continued. On 19 November 1969, the day after the Congregation of Divine Worship's Declaration appeared, Paul VI himself defended the New Order of Mass before a general audience. He began by saying the changes took place

19. Ibid. 153: "Il capitolo è una presentazione piuttosto dottrinale e pastorale dei diversi uffici e compiti che i differenti ministri e participanti devono svolgere nella celebrazione." My emphasis.
20. PGC, 3. My emphasis.
21. "In Novum Ordinem Missae," EL 83 (1969), 380–1: "... fundamentale est in universa Institutione: constituit quodammodo summam qua exponitur sensus totius celebrationis, uniuscuiusque ipsius partis atque singulorum elementorum, sub aspectu doctrinali, pastorali et rubricali." My emphasis.
22. "Punti," 246. "E' un documento liturgico, ma con una finalità dottrinale e catechetica."
23. See Society, *Problem of the Liturgical Reform*, 2–3.

"due to the express will of the recent ecumenical Council"; to accept them, therefore, is an act of obedience. The reform is not "a fad, a fleeting or optional experiment, the invention of some dilettante." The reform, he said:

> puts an end to uncertainty, arguments, and misguided experiments. It summons us back to that uniformity of rites and of attitudes that is proper to the Catholic Church, the heir and continuator of the first Christian community that was "of one heart and of one soul." The harmonious chorus of its prayer is one of the signs and strengths of the Church's unity and catholicity. The change about to take place must not shatter or disturb that harmony, but rather intensify it and make it resound with a new, rejuvenated spirit.[24]

A restoration of uniformity in rites? Intensified harmony? In any event, addressing the charges made in the *Ottaviani Intervention*, Paul VI then told his listeners:

> Nothing of the substance of the traditional Mass has been altered. Some people might let themselves be persuaded that a particular ceremony or its accompanying rubric involves or implies an altering or lessening of the truth received once for ever and authoritatively guaranteed by the Catholic faith. They might thus conclude that the equation between the *lex orandi* [law of prayer] and the *lex credendi* [law of believing] has been jeopardized.
>
> That is absolutely not the case. Above all, because no particular rite or rubric amounts in itself to a dogmatic definition. Such things are subject to a theological evaluation, differing according to their context in the liturgy.... Such religious activity is of a kind that only a theological critique can analyze and articulate in doctrinal formulas that satisfy logic.[25]

True enough — altering a ceremony here or there does not necessarily compromise the truth of the Catholic faith. But Paul VI did not merely "touch up" the old Mass: he abolished it and substituted something else. And as for "theological evaluations" of the New Mass, Paul VI had already promulgated one of his own: the modernist and neo-Protestant General Instruction which obliterated Catholic teaching on the nature of the Mass, the Real Presence and the Catholic priesthood.

Paul VI also tried to place the New Order into the context of traditional Catholic doctrine:

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24. Address to a general audience on the new order of Mass about to be introduced, 19 November 1969, DOL 1758.
25. Ibid. DOL 1759.

> The unity between the Lord's Supper, the sacrifice of the cross, and the renewal representing both in the Mass is unfailingly affirmed and celebrated in the New Rite, just as it was in the old.[26]

If so, this was not exactly self-evident.

## THE NEW FOREWORD

When the New Order of Mass and General Instruction were published in April 1969, Consilium was still at work on the Propers for the new Missal. Paul VI's Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum* had set 30 November 1969, the First Sunday of Advent, as the date when the new Missal would come into use. But because the controversy started by the *Ottaviani Intervention* had "engendered a climate of suspicion regarding the theological foundations of the New Order of Mass,"[27] the Vatican was forced to delay publishing the entire Missal until the objections could be addressed.[28]

While Paul VI's public defense of the New Mass satisfied some conservatives, it did not convince everyone. Protests continued to be heard, especially in France, where booklets and articles against the New Mass started to appear, among them, another lengthy and minute theological critique by Father Guérard.[29]

Certain Italians preferred a more dramatic approach. On 30 November 1969, the day that the *Novus Ordo Missae* was first supposed to be used throughout the world, Romans awakened to find that red dye had been poured into some of the Eternal City's most famous fountains. A pamphlet explained:

> Romans! Today, 30 November 1969, the reformers have decreed the death of the Holy Mass as it was celebrated through the ages throughout the entire world! Center of Christianity, raise a cry of anger and protest! The waters of Rome color themselves red, just as the waters of Egypt turned into blood![30]

In March 1970, supporters of the New Mass in France published the facsimile of a letter, allegedly from Cardinal Ottaviani, which stated that Paul VI's discourse had put to rest his objections, and which in effect retracted the *Intervention*. A public controversy naturally ensued. There is evidence to

26. Ibid. DOL 1759.
27. Alessandro Pistoia CM, "Il 'Proemium' e le Modifiche della 'Institutio Generalis': Commento," EL 84 (1970), 241–2.
28. See RL, 389.
29. "L'Ordo Missae," *La Pensée Catholique* 122 (1969), recently reprinted in Italian in *Sodaltium* 63 (April 2009).
30. Quoted RL, 287.

suggest, however, that if authentic, the cardinal's signature on the letter may have been obtained by fraud.[31]

On 27 March 1970 the Vatican press finally published the first edition of the new Missal in Latin. It contained a new general liturgical calendar, the New Order of the Mass, new Propers for seasons and feasts, new Commons for Our Lady and the Saints, new formularies for Ritual Masses, prayers for various needs, Votive Masses and Masses for the Dead.[32]

The front of the Missal featured a "second edition" of the General Instruction that had been modified in response to some of the criticisms leveled against the 1969 GI. But the reformers suspected that this minor tinkering would not be enough. They had to come up with a lengthy and permanent defense of the New Mass, or else the chorus of protest might never die down.

The Congregation for Divine Worship therefore asked Paul VI to write a Motu Proprio defending the orthodoxy and legitimacy of the reform. He eventually suggested adding an explanatory Foreword (*Proemium*) to the new Missal. On 14 February 1970 Paul VI met with Bugnini and said that the document should contain a defense (*apologia*) of the New Mass from the point of view of tradition and demonstrate that the doctrine in the new Missal was identical to that in the old.[33]

So, when the full Missal was printed in 1970, a fifteen-paragraph Foreword preceded the text of the revised General Instruction.

At first reading, the Foreword sounds nearly "Tridentine" — as one would expect, since the liturgical experts claimed it "guarantees the doctrinal orthodoxy of the New Order of Mass."[34] But there is something "off" about it. Some modernist notions found in the 1969 GI re-emerge in the Foreword in subtle disguise. The arguments that the new rite clearly expresses Catholic teaching and represents a "return to ancient tradition" seem to be tenuous and forced.

Overall, it tries to superimpose Catholic Eucharistic theology on a rite based on a different theology altogether — and it fails.

**1. Constant Affirmations?** The Foreword begins by picking up on the idea that the General Instruction is simply a rubrical document: The Church, it

31. The cardinal was blind by this time. His secretary, Msgr. Gilberto Agustoni, together with Bugnini and Mgr. Anton Hänggi, had put together a memorandum to Paul VI in 1966 proposing an *Ordo Missae* which was more or less what would become the *Novus Ordo*. See Anthony Cekada, "Background to the *Ottaviani Intervention*," OI, 7–10.

32. It was decorated with a number of exquisitely ugly modern plates that looked like castoffs from an early edition of *Frankenstein*. The only thing missing from the figures of the "saints" was neck bolts.

33. See RL, 390–1.

34. See for instance: Pistoia, "Il 'Proemium'... Commento," 244.

says, "gives directions about the preparation of the sentiments of the worshiper, the place, rites, and texts for the celebration of the eucharist." The new rules attest to the Church's tradition "amid the introduction of some new elements."[35] ("Some," as we shall see, means just about everything...)

The Foreword then tips its biretta (symbolically, of course) toward Trent's teaching on the sacrificial nature of the Mass and toward Vatican II, which "reaffirmed this teaching... [which] is expressed constantly in the formularies of the Mass."[36]

Two dozen citations from the rite, alas, do not follow. The most the Foreword's compilers could manage was *one* phrase from Eucharistic Prayer III and *one* phrase from Eucharistic Prayer IV. (Eucharistic Prayer II apparently does not "constantly reaffirm" the teaching of Trent.) On the basis of this shaky evidence the Foreword concludes that:

> In this new Missal, then, the Church's rule of prayer (*lex orandi*) corresponds to its constant rule of faith (*lex credendi*). This rule of faith instructs us that the sacrifice of the cross and its sacramental renewal in the Mass, which Christ instituted at the Last Supper and commanded his apostles to do in his memory, are one and the same, differing only in the manner of offering and that consequently the Mass is at once a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, of reconciliation and expiation.[37]

This statement is bizarre. Of course the rule of faith instructs us as to the nature of the Mass; but the evidence for this rule seems to have disappeared from the new rule of prayer — *the rite itself.*

The Foreword then replies to the charges of the *Ottaviani Intervention* that the New Mass nowhere specifically alludes to the Real Presence:

> The celebration of Mass also proclaims the sublime mystery of the Lord's real presence under the eucharistic elements.... The Mass does this not only by means of the very words of consecration, by which Christ becomes present through transubstantiation, but also by that spirit and expression of reverence and adoration in which the eucharistic liturgy is carried out.[38]

But where in gestures of the priest and the people do we find this "spirit and expression of reverence and adoration" toward the Real Presence expressed?

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35. §1, DOL 1376. The title "Foreword" (in Latin, "*Proemium*") is sometimes rendered in English as "Introduction." The Latin original divides the *Proemium* to the 1970 *Institutio Generalis* into 15 articles. The articles in the body of the 1970 *Institutio* follow the same numbering as they did in the 1969 *Institutio.*
36. §2, DOL 1377.
37. §2, DOL 1377.
38. §3, DOL 1378.

In reducing the number of genuflections to three? In shaking hands with everyone at the point where you should be preparing to receive Communion? In sitting instead of kneeling to make a thanksgiving after Communion? In relegating the Blessed Sacrament to a hiding place outside the nave of the church?

**2. The Priesthood Reaffirmed?** The Foreword next attempts to prove that the New Mass presents the Church's traditional teaching on how the priest offers the sacrifice, another sore point raised in the *Ottaviani Intervention*:

> Because of the priest's more prominent place and office in the [new] rite, its form sheds light on the ministerial priesthood proper to the presbyter [priest] who offers the sacrifice in the person of Christ [*in persona Christi*] and presides over the assembly of a holy people.[39]

The sop this passage threw to the conservatives, of course, was the phrase *in the person of Christ*, long a part of Catholic teaching. But using one Catholic expression hardly solves the problem — the Foreword still equates the modernist "presidency" with offering the sacrifice in the person of Christ. And how is the priest's place in the New Mass "more prominent"? During the first part of the new service he sits inert while lay lectors, commentators, cantors and deacons do what he used to do.

As its next proof to demonstrate that the New Mass does not contradict Catholic teaching on the priesthood, the Foreword points to the new Missal's Preface to the Mass of Chrism. On the face of it, the example is ridiculous. The Mass of Chrism is celebrated only *once a year* — on Holy Thursday, and then only *by the diocesan bishop*.

But the text of the new Preface of the Mass of Chrism — invented by Consilium — proves the *opposite* of what the Foreword's compilers would like us to believe about the orthodoxy of the New Mass. It begins by speaking of the preservation of Christ's one priesthood in the Church; it then states that this one priesthood extends *not only* to His people, *but also* to those who have received the imposition of hands.[40] This leaves the clear impression that

39. §4, DOL 1379.

40. M70, 241. "Who has constituted your only-begotten Son High Priest of the New and eternal covenant by the anointing of the Holy Spirit, and so deigned to order things in your ineffable plan that His one priesthood would be preserved in the Church. For He *not only* adorned *His own people* with the royal priesthood, *but also* by His brotherly goodness chose men to become sharers in His ministry by the imposition of hands." "Qui unigenitum tuum Sancti Spiritus unctione novi et aeterni testamenti constituisti Pontificem, et ineffabili dignatus es dispositione sancire, ut unicum ejus sacerdotium in Ecclesia servaretur. Ipse enim *non solum regali sacerdotio populum* acquisitionis exornat, *sed etiam* fraterna homines eligit bonitate, ut sacri sui ministerii fiant manuum impositione participes." My emphasis.

the ordained priesthood arises out of "the priesthood of believers" — a nice, Protestant concept. Only after having presented this howler, does the Preface mention *priests who renew in His name the sacrifice of redemption.* But even this orthodox phrase is immediately diluted by the almost obligatory references to *banquet* and *nourishing the holy people with the word.* The word "sacrifice," as usual, never walks alone.

Understandably perhaps, the Foreword then turns with a vengeance to the "royal priesthood of believers":

> Through the ministry of presbyters the people's spiritual sacrifice to God is brought to completeness in union with the sacrifice of Christ, the one and only Mediator. For the celebration of the eucharist is the action of the whole Church; in it all should do only, but all of, those parts which belong to them in virtue of their place within the people of God.... *They are a people called to offer God the prayers of the entire human family*, a people giving thanks in Christ for the mystery of salvation *by offering the sacrifice.*[41]

Once again, the clear impression is that the "People of God" — the Vatican II term which includes anyone who has been baptized, including heretics and schismatics — mediate on their own as priests between the entire human race and God.[42] And what is the meaning of the phrase "through the ministry of presbyters the people's spiritual sacrifice to God is brought to completeness"? The Foreword does not say.

**3. Witness to Tradition?** Next the Foreword attempts to demonstrate that the New Mass is "a witness to unbroken tradition":

> Vatican II directed, among other things, that some rites be restored "to the vigor they had in the tradition of the Fathers"; this is a quotation from the Apostolic Constitution *Quo primum* of 1570, by which St. Pius V promulgated the Tridentine Missal. *The fact that the same words are used in reference to both Roman Missals indicates how both of them*, although separated by four centuries, *embrace the same tradition.*[43]

The line of reasoning runs thus: St. Pius V and Vatican II *used the same words* to describe the liturgical reforms they desired; therefore, both reforms are the same. Great — same words, different reality.

In paragraphs 7–9, the Foreword defends the New Mass as a product of the work of scholars who studied the ancient rites of the Church and now

41. §5, DOL 1380. My emphasis.
42. Da Silveira, *La Nouvelle Messe*, 104–5.
43. §6, DOL 1381. My emphasis

restored them to us. This is another lie, as we shall see when we examine the new rites and prayers themselves. Like Luther and Cranmer before them, the creators of the New Mass treated the rites of antiquity like a smorgasbord; they chose only what fit into their new theological system.

The Foreword's third section is devoted to an apologia for adapting the Mass "to modern conditions":

> The older Missal belongs to the difficult period of attacks against the Catholic teaching on the sacrificial nature of the Mass, the ministerial priesthood, and the real and permanent presence of Christ under the eucharistic elements. St. Pius V was therefore especially concerned with preserving the relatively recent developments in the Church's tradition, then unjustly being assailed, and introduced only very slight changes into the sacred rites...[44]

This suggests that, while Catholic teaching on the Mass, the priesthood and the Real Presence was under attack during the days of St. Pius V, it was no longer under attack during the glorious and peaceful reign of Paul VI. Well, it's a point of view... But in any case:

> The Fathers of Vatican II in reaffirming the dogmatic statements of the Council of Trent were speaking in a far different time in the world's history. They were able therefore to bring forward proposals and measures of a pastoral nature *that could not even have been foreseen four centuries ago.*[45]

True enough. Anyone rash enough to suggest them would have spent the rest of his days as an oarsman on one of the papal galleys — if he had escaped burning at the stake.

The Foreword's last paragraph is perhaps the most honest because it admits that the post-Vatican II liturgical reform did not so much restore ancient tradition as tinker with it:

> [An] awareness of the present state of the world also influenced the use of texts from very ancient tradition. It seemed that this cherished treasure would not be harmed if some *phrases were changed so that the style of language would be more in accord with the language of modern theology*... Thus, there have been changes of some expressions bearing on the evaluation and use of the good things of the earth and of allusions to a particular form of outward penance belonging to another age in the history of the Church.[46]

We shall see the consequences of this method in the rites themselves.

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44. §7, DOL 1382.
45. §10, DOL 1385. My emphasis.
46. §15, DOL 1390. My emphasis.

To sum up, the Foreword's defense of the orthodoxy of the New Mass is inconsistent, deceptive and dangerous, a feeble exercise in camouflage. The appeal to "ancient tradition" it makes is fraudulent, and the Tridentine terminology it occasionally employs is utterly irrelevant to the new rite of Mass that it introduces.

As Father Crichton observed, the Foreword was an ephemeral work, intended to answer objections, and adds nothing to a liturgical understanding of the New Mass.[47] In short, it merely reflects the dangers and ambiguities of the rite it was written to defend.

## CHANGES IN THE INSTRUCTION

The new Foreword in the 1970 Missal was followed by the revised text of the General Instruction, and the Congregation for Divine Worship issued a Presentation to explain the changes that had been made. Like the Clarification that the Congregation issued the previous November, it makes you wonder whether the men who destroyed the liturgy believed that words meant anything at all.

It began by saying that the 1969 General Instruction was the "object of many different doctrinal and rubrical comments" — true enough, as the *Ottaviani Intervention* demonstrates. Then came the following "explanation":

> Some points in [the Instruction] did not come across clearly, mainly because of the difficulty of keeping all the contents in mind, since many points are covered in many different sections of the Instruction. Some complaints, however, were based on a prejudice against anything new; these were not deemed worth considering because they are groundless: a review of the General Instruction both before and after its publication by the Fathers and [experts] of the Consilium found no reason for changing the arrangement of the material, or any error in doctrine. The Instruction is a pastoral and rubrical text that structures the celebration of Mass in accord with the teachings of Vatican Council II, Paul VI's Encyclical *Mysterium Fidei*... and the Instruction *Eucharisticum Mysterium*...[48]

This statement is so convoluted that it could have come out of the Ministry of Truth in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Its line of reasoning — if such it can be called — ran roughly as follows:

(1) Some points in the Instruction "did not come across clearly because of the difficulty of keeping all the contents in mind." This, of course, completely contradicts the Congregation's November 1969 statement that the

47. *Christian Celebration*, 47–8.

48. SC Divine Worship, Presentation *Edita Instructione*, May 1970, DOL 1371.

Instruction was prepared "with the collaboration of those highly expert in the theological and pastoral disciplines."

(2) Complaints against the new rite "were based on a prejudice against anything new; these were not worth considering because they are groundless." Of course!

(3) Consilium itself, after all, had examined the Instruction and "found no reason for changing the arrangement of the material and no errors in doctrine." And they saw that it was good...

(4) The Instruction was merely "a pastoral and rubrical text" anyway — a lie, as we have seen.

But having said that the Instruction contained *no* doctrinal error and that there was *no* reason to change it, the Congregation went on to say:

> But to overcome problems of any kind and to clarify some of the language of the General Instruction, the decision was made... to supplement or rewrite the text of the General Instruction in some places.... Nothing, however, has been completely revised, and therefore the numbering of paragraphs remains the same as in the first edition. The emendations are in fact few and sometimes quite minor or merely stylistic.[49]

So, then, there was no reason to change the Instruction, but the Congregation was changing it anyway. The "few" emendations covered 16 pages.[50]

The passages affected, naturally, were the ones that the *Intervention* had criticized the most strongly. As Crichton, an ardent defender of the liturgical reform, tartly noted:

> The procedure is obvious: every time there is an incriminated expression, what may be called for short a "Tridentine" phrase is put beside it.[51]

The results of the "Tridentinization" process are as follows.

**1. Definition of the Mass** (§7). The 1969 GI's definition of the Mass was one of the main targets of the *Ottaviani Intervention.* Here is the revised version, with the changes in italics:

> *At Mass or the Lord's Supper*, the people of God *are called together*, with a priest presiding *and acting in the person of Christ* to celebrate the memorial of the Lord or *eucharistic sacrifice.*

49. Ibid.

50. They are given in "Variationes in 'Institutionem Generalem Missalis Romani' Inductae," *Notitiae* 6 (1970), 177–93. The original and the revised versions are given side by side in "Variationes Praecipuae in Institutionem Inductae," EL (1970), 233–40.

51. *Christian Celebration*, 52.

> For this reason Christ's promise applies supremely [or specially] to *such* a local gathering together of the [holy] Church: "Where two or three come together in my name, there am I in their midst" (Mt 18:20).
>
> *For at the celebration of Mass, which perpetuates the sacrifice of the cross, Christ is really present to the assembly gathered in his name; he is present in the person of the minister, in his own word, and indeed substantially and permanently under the eucharistic elements.*[52]

The whole tone of the Article has changed. It is no longer a definition ("The Lord's Supper or Mass *is*..."), but a breezy description (*At* Mass or the Lord's Supper...").

Some recognizable terms from traditional Catholic eucharistic theology also appear: *in the person of Christ*, *eucharistic sacrifice*, and *substantially present.* The Article relates the Mass to the Sacrifice of the Cross, places *Mass* before *Lord's Supper*, and no longer defines the Mass as *assembly.*

Did these changes mean the original definition in §7 was ambiguous? Not so, said one Roman liturgist; the revision merely makes "clear in unambiguous terms as much as was already expressed in the preceding formula."[53] Double-talk again.

But the 1970 revision did not solve all the problems. The Catholic term *Mass* and Protestant term *Lord's Supper* are still presented as synonymous; the alien notion of presidency still appears; the word *or* connects *memorial of the Lord* and *eucharistic sacrifice*, thus implying that either term is sufficient for the Mass; Christ's substantial presence is placed on the same level as His presence in Scripture and the congregation, and finally, the revised Article still states that *the people* "celebrate" the Eucharistic sacrifice.

**2. "The Last Supper is made present."** (§§48, 55.d). The original paragraph 48 taught that the *Last Supper* becomes continuously present in the Church when Mass is celebrated and that Christ instituted the Mass as a *memorial* of His death and resurrection. The revised Article 48 reads:

> At the Last Supper Christ *instituted the sacrifice and paschal meal* that make *the sacrifice of the cross to be continuously present* in the Church, when the

52. §7: "In Missa seu Cena dominica populus Dei in unum convocatur, sacerdote praeside personamque Christi gerente, ad memoriale Domini seu sacrificium eucharisticum celebrandum. Quare de hujusmodi sanctae Ecclesiae coadunatione locali eminenter valet promissio Christi: 'Ubi duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum' (Mt 18:20). In Missae enim celebratione, in qua sacrificium Crucis perpetuatur, Christus realiter praesens adest in ipso coetu in suo nomine congregato, in persona ministri, in verbo suo, et quidem substantialiter et continenter sub speciebus eucharisticis." DOL 1397.

53. Pistoia, "Il 'Proemium'... Commento," 244.

> priest, representing Christ the Lord, carries out what the Lord did and handed over to his disciples to do in his memory.[54]

This version alludes to the relationship between the Mass and the sacrifice of the Cross, and replaced *commemoration* — a term Protestants generally apply to the Eucharist — with *the sacrifice and paschal meal.*

The revised text, however, still does not refer to the Mass as a sacrifice of *propitiation* — the great "stumbling block" to ecumenism, as Jungmann called it. And the "Paschal Mystery" theology that rears its head here is (as the authors of the SSPX theological study of liturgical reform so convincingly demonstrated) an entirely new theological system that modernists formulated to "surpass" not only the teaching that the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice, but also the traditional Catholic doctrine on sin, and even on the Redemption itself.[55]

It is, moreover, incorrect to say that at the Last Supper Christ instituted the *paschal meal.* The paschal meal was in fact the festive meal that Our Lord and the Apostles ate *after* they consumed the paschal lamb and *before* Our Lord instituted the Eucharist.[56]

And in any case, Consilium's own commentary on §48 stated that the changes did not in fact alter the meaning of the text:

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54. §48: "In Cena novissima, Christus sacrificium et convivium paschale instituit, quo sacrificium crucis in Ecclesia continue praesens efficitur, cum sacerdos, Christum Dominum repraesentans, idem perficit quod ipse Dominus egit atque discipulis in sui memoriam faciendum tradidit...." DOL 1438. My emphasis.

55. The authors of *Problem of the Liturgical Reform*, 40–50, summarize "Paschal Mystery" theology as follows: "sin must no longer be looked upon from the perspective of the divine anger, since it incurs no debt in justice with regard to God... man's sin seems to harm only himself and society without being prejudicial to God. Moreover, sin does not offend the justice of God, but offends only His love... Consequently, the need to satisfy divine justice is no longer apparent, and the doctrine of the vicarious satisfaction of Christ appears scandalous... If the word 'satisfaction' is occasionally kept, it is only on the ground that it is 'not a demand of God's love, but what love requires in us' [for recovering] our own *spiritual health*... [It is now] a purely corrective punishment and no longer at all in terms of God's vengeance... Redemption is no longer the satisfaction of divine justice as wrought by Christ, but rather the supreme *revelation* of the eternal Covenant which God has made with humanity, and which has never been destroyed by sin... The principal act of Redemption is no longer the death of Christ but His Resurrection and his Ascension... The vicarious satisfaction of Christ and His mediation in prayer no longer prove to be absolutely necessary." Such notions, the authors remark, "have therefore been largely removed from the new missal, and notably from the Eucharistic Prayers." The need to make satisfaction for sin disappears.

56. See Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentaria in Matthaeum* 26:26. "Ubi nota triplicem hic fuisse Chrisit coenam, primam sacram agni paschalis... secundam communem aliorum ciborum post agnum... Christus vero tertiam addit sacerrimam, imo divinam, scilicet institutionem Eucharistiae." I am aware that this commentary suffers from the pervasive defect of treating the New Testament as a historical account, rather than mere fairy tales.

> By this new version, *that which was obviously expressed before is not denied*, that is, "The Last Supper... is made continually present in the Church." *In fact, there remain expressions in other places where the Mass is clearly said to be the Lord's Supper.*[57]

Despite their revisions, then, the revisers still viewed their new service as a Lord's Supper.

The original §55.d repeated the error that the Mass makes the Last Supper present, and it spoke of an *Institution Narrative* instead of the *Consecration*. The new version reads:

> Institution narrative *and consecration*: in the words and actions of Christ, *that sacrifice is celebrated which he himself instituted at the last supper*, when, under the appearances of bread and wine, he *offered* his body and blood, gave them to his apostles to eat and drink, then commanded that they carry on this mystery.[58]

The revised version adds the word *consecration*, removes the error about the "presence" of the Last Supper, speaks of celebrating the sacrifice, and states that Christ *offered* — instead of just *gave* — His Body and Blood.

**3. The President of the Assembly.** (§60). In the 1969 GI, §60 stated that the priest was president of the assembly, prayer leader, preacher, one who *joins the people to himself in offering the sacrifice*, and a *sharer* of the Bread of Life with his brethren. The new version states:

> *Within the community of believers,* the presbyter [priest?] *is another who possesses the power of orders to offer sacrifice in the person of Christ. He therefore* presides over the assembly and leads its prayer, proclaims the message of salvation, joins the people to himself in offering the sacrifice to the Father through Christ in the Spirit, *gives them* the bread of eternal life, and shares it with them.[59]

The modified paragraph re-introduces the Catholic teaching that the priest

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57. "Variationes in 'Institutionem...' Inductae," 180. My emphasis.

58. §55.d: "Narratio institutionis et consecratio: verbis et actionibus Christi sacrificium peragitur, quod ipse Christus in Cena novissima instituit, cum suum Corpus et Sanguinem sub speciebus panis et vini obtulit, Apostolisque manducandum et bibendum dedit et iis mandatum reliquit idem mysterium perpetuandi." DOL 1445. My emphasis.

59. §60: "Etiam presbyter, qui in societate fidelium sacra Ordinis potestate pollet sacrificium in persona Christi offerendi, exinde coetui congregato praeest, cujus orationi praesidet, illi nuntium salutis proclamat, populum sibi sociat in offerendo sacrificio per Christum in Spiritu Sancto Deo Patri, fratribus suis panem vitae aeternae dat, ipsumque cum illis participat...." DOL 1450. My emphasis.

acts in the person of Christ when he offers Mass. But it still does not remove the false notion, implied elsewhere in the Instruction, that *the people* "offer sacrifice" or "celebrate" the Mass. And, of course, the notion of presidency still remains.

**4. Other Revisions in the Instruction.** The 1970 General Instruction introduced changes in some of the other paragraphs. The more significant ones do not require an extensive commentary.

Previously one paragraph implied that *all* the faithful must receive communion; the new version added, "the faithful who are rightly disposed."[60] Another paragraph seemed to identify the "daily bread" requested in the Our Father with the Body of Christ;[61] the ambiguity was removed. Other paragraphs re-introduced the use of the communion plate for the faithful[62] and an option to use bells[63] and incense[64] at the Elevation. The side chapel to which the tabernacle had been exiled was not only to be used for private prayer, but also for "adoration."[65] Another paragraph stated that the large eucharistic breads mentioned in the original *Instruction* are to be "baked in the traditional shape"[66] — an impossibility in light of other provisions in the Instruction which stated that the priest should share his host with a number of members of the congregation. Such were the meager rubrical bones tossed in the direction of the Real Presence. Outside of these, there were a good number of other little modifications that were purely disciplinary, rubrical or typographical.[67]

Another revised edition of the General Instruction appeared in 1975, and another in 2000. The 2000 edition expanded the number of paragraphs from 340 to 399, changed the numbering system of the paragraphs, and added a ninth chapter on cultural adaptation of the liturgy.[68] At the time, it was viewed as having introduced some ritual changes which were more conservative or

60. §56, DOL 1446.
61. §56.a, DOL 1446.
62. §80.c, DOL 1470 and §117, DOL 1507.
63. §109, DOL 1499.
64. §235.e, DOL 1625.
65. §276, DOL 1666.
66. §283, DOL 1673.
67. Da Silveira, 123. For the record, da Silveira gives them as §§30, 32, 59, 76, 95, 99, 120, 121, 125, 143, 153.1, 157, 158, 158.a, 158.c, 158.d, 234.a, 242.7, 242.8.b, 242.14, 290, 298–300, 308.a, 308.b, 315–6, 319, 322.e, 329.a, 330, 332–4, 336–7.
68. See Committee on the Liturgy, U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, "The 2000 Revision of the *Insititutio Generalis Missalis Romani*, http://www.nccbuscc.org/liturgy/current/revmissal-isromanien.htm, 1.

traditional in tone.[69]

Father Brian Harrison, however, has pointed out that despite these new provisions, the 2000 GI gives "the go-ahead to a number of further novelties in addition to those major innovations... that were already in place prior to the year 2000."[70] He finds the implications of the new Chapter IX particularly disturbing — indeed, "ominous" — because they seem to invite national bishops conferences to petition for new adaptations that are "more far-reaching."[71] The 1995 Vatican Instruction on which the chapter was based, he noted, allowed "liturgical dancing, hand-clapping and rhythmic body swaying during Masses celebrated in the context of non-Western cultures."[72]

None of the changes introduced in these subsequent editions of the GI, however, has substantially modified the paragraphs we have criticized in this chapter.

**5. Remaining Problems.** Despite the conservatives' objections and the 1970 revisions, the substance of the Instruction remained the same. Here is a summary of the problem areas:

(1) *Definition of the Mass.* Mass and supper, sacrifice and memorial, substantial and other "presences" are still equated, and the revised Article still states that *the people* "celebrate" the Eucharistic sacrifice.

(2) *Meal, Sacrifice, Thanksgiving, Memorial.* The Instruction still obsessively emphasizes "meal" terminology — the 18 passages cited above in Chapter 5 remained unchanged. In those paragraphs where the word "sacrifice" now appears, the word cannot be used without saying "meal" in virtually the same breath. The revised Instruction still does not clearly state that the Mass is a

69. See ibid. E.g., adding the adjective *sacred* to different nouns, warning against unauthorized additions to the liturgy, forbidding homilies by laymen, forbidding communal recitation of the Eucharistic Prayer, reserving the breaking of the bread to the priest and deacon, recommending the dalmatic for the deacon, requiring lay ministers of the Eucharist to wear albs or another "approved vestment," restricting who may purify vessels, recommending kneeling for the Eucharistic Prayer, praising Gregorian chant, and tightening up some rules on the material prerequisites for the New Mass (altar, cross, tabernacle, vessels, images).

70. "Slowing the Pace of Liturgical Revolution? Reflections on the Third Millenium Missal," *Latin Mass*, Fall 2002, 26. E.g., suggesting the priest ad-lib with the Introit text (§48, GI 2000), allowing for altar girls (107), implicitly reproving priests who do not wish to concelebrate (114), permanently allowing certain additional Eucharistic Prayers to be used universally (147), favoring the reception of communion standing in procession over reception kneeling at the rail (160), forbidding in practice the celebration of three successive Masses on All Souls Day (204), reducing the number of genuflections during Mass (274), saying that Mass facing the people "is desirable wherever it is possible" (299).

71. "Slowing the Pace," 30–1.

72. "Slowing the Pace, 26," citing AAS 87 (1995), 304. He quotes the Latin original "...manuum percussio seu plausus, fluctuationes rhythmicae seu motus modulati, aut chorae motus," vocabulary not usually found in pre-Vatican II Congregation of Rites decrees.

*sacrifice of propitiation*, offered to God to satisfy for the sins of the living and the dead, nor does it affirm the objective value of the Mass. The Protestants believe in neither teaching, nor does the modernist.

(3) *The Presence of Christ.* Only one paragraph in the revised Instruction (the revised definition in §7) says that Christ is present substantially. The revised Instruction still devalues this real and substantial presence by setting forth other "real presences" — Christ "present in the assembly" and Christ "present in His word." The revised version retains the confusing "nourishment imagery" to refer to Scripture readings; the impression remains that listening to Scripture and receiving the Eucharist are just about the same thing.

(4) *The People Offer the Mass.* Five articles in the original Instruction make it appear that the *people* are some sort of collective priesthood which co-offers the Mass on an equal footing with Christ and the priest; these articles have remain unchanged. This notion was reinforced in the 1975 edition of the Missal, which altered the 32 passages in the 1970 edition in which "the term 'celebrant' had been applied without qualification to the presiding priest." This was to bring the language of the Missal in line with a May 1966 Consilium memo stating that *priest* is always to be used instead of *celebrant*, because the priest who presides is "priestly in the narrow sense."[73]

(5) *The Priest Presides.* The 1969 GI contained 11 references to the priest's "presidential function"; these have been retained. The revised version of §7 places the priest's function of "presiding" on the same level as "acting in the person of Christ."

(6) *The Deregulation of the Liturgy.* The revised General Instruction left this feature of the 1969 GI untouched. The provisions that destroy the unity of the Church's official prayer (pick texts or rites from the buffet table) or totally deregulate the content of liturgical texts (choose your own songs, make up your own prayers or commentary) are all still in place. The Bugnini-Montini Surprise Factor is thus still an integral part of the new system. This breaks down the universality of the Church's prayer and remains a license to spread serious doctrinal errors.

## A CLEVER REVISION

So with the existence side by side of all these incongruous or contradictory ideas — Tridentine, Protestant and modernist — what should one make of the revised 1970 GI? Was it really, as countless conservatives have subsequently maintained, an attempt to put things right again, to eradicate unintentional ambiguities and to reaffirm traditional Catholic teaching on the Mass?

73. Enrico Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite* (New York: Pueblo 1986), 304.

**1. Choose Sacrifice or Assembly.** Crichton provides a clue with his observation that the revisers merely introduced a "Tridentine" term or concept alongside one of the new ideas: assembly or sacrifice, assembly-Scripture presence or substantial presence, etc.[74] Since the revised GI of 1970 presents these concepts as equivalent, one is free to regard the Mass as either:

(1) A propitiatory sacrifice, offered by an ordained priest, in which Christ becomes present under the species of bread and wine through transubstantiation; or

(2) An assembly and memorial re-presentation of the Last Supper, celebrated by the people under the direction of a designated president, during which Christ is present in the people, the scripture readings and in the bread and wine.

And the 1970 GI is elastic enough to accommodate either concept, making it, like the first Anglican *Prayer Book* of Edward VI, "an ingenious essay in ambiguity" that was, as the Jesuit historian Francis Clark said:

> purposely worded in such a manner that the more conservative could place their own construction upon it and reconcile their consciences to using it, while the Reformers would interpret it in their own sense and would recognize it as an instrument of furthering the next stage of the religious revolution.[75]

If this sounds like a cynical reading of the whole affair of the revised General Instruction, don't blame hard-line traditionalists. In a 1975 statement, Father Emil Joseph Lengeling, a member of Consilium's Study Group 18, put the 1970 Instruction into its proper perspective:

> *In the 1969 General Instruction for the [new] Missal, an ecumenically oriented sacramental theology of the celebration of Mass emerged* — a theology already self-evident in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (§47) and in [Paul VI's] 1967 instruction on the Eucharist. *Despite the new 1970 edition forced by reactionary attacks — but which avoided the worst, thanks to the cleverness of the revisers — it takes us out of the dead end of the post-Tridentine theories of sacrifice* (in line with the theories of Odo Casel) and corresponds to the

74. A point that writers in the second generation of traditionalist critics of the New Mass latched onto: "To define the Mass in 'either/or' terms (either the Mass or the Lord's Supper; the memorial of the Lord or the Eucharistic sacrifice) is to imply that the phrase used to describe the Mass is unimportant. However, yes, indeed, words do matter. The Mass suffers from a severe and permanent identity crisis in the *Novus Ordo*. It is referred to [with various terms] by 'presiders' throughout the world. And given the fact that [the GI] permits the priest to introduce the Mass in words not found in the Missal, the whole enterprise rests upon the theology of the individual priest." Thomas A. Droleskey, *G.I.R.M. Warfare: The Traditional Latin Mass versus the General Instruction to the Roman Missal of 1997*, 2nd ed. (New York: Chartres 2005), 72.

75. ESR, 182.

agreement marked out in many of last year's interconfessional documents.[76]

The 1970 GI was "Catholic" enough, in other words, to fool the conservatives, but ambiguous enough to accommodate the errors of Protestants and modernists by removing the "dead end of the post-Tridentine theories of sacrifice." Clever indeed!

**2. A More "Tridentine" New Mass?** At this point we have devoted about ten pages to analyzing how Paul VI and Consilium changed their theological blueprint for creating the New Mass, the 1969 General Instruction. Did they in 1970 make changes in the New Order of Mass, so that the *rite itself* would henceforth reflect at least a little "Tridentine" theology?

We will not need to devote another ten pages to that question, for the answer is no. The prayers and rites of the 1970 *Novus Ordo Missae* are *identical* to those of the 1969 *Novus Ordo Missae*.

Thus the episode of 1970 GI was nothing more than a little game played on paper. It was as if an architect had designed a building that promptly began to collapse, and he "solved" the problem by scribbling a few changes on his original blueprints, and then put them back into a drawer. What the architect drew on his defective blueprints does not change the structure that he actually built, and it sure won't keep the bricks from falling on someone's head. The only real solution is to dynamite the collapsing building and haul away the rubble.

The key to understanding the theology behind the Mass of Paul VI now used in our cathedrals and parish churches, therefore, lies not in the pseudo-Tridentine Foreword and General Instruction of 1970, but in the Bouyer-Brilioth — and yes, Montini — General Instruction of 1969.

## SUMMARY

• After Paul VI promulgated the New Mass in April 1969, a group of Catholics decided to present a protest to Paul VI, with the aid of Cardinal Ottaviani, former head of the Holy Office. Father Guérard des Lauriers prepared the text of a short, critical study of the New Mass, and in September

76. "Tradition und Fortschritt in der Liturgie," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 25 (1975), 218–9: "Aus der Allgemeinen Einführung zum Meßbuch von 1969 sei die schon in der Liturgiekonstitution (47) und in der Eucharistieinstruktion (1967) sich abzeichnende, ökumenisch tragfähige sakramentale Theologie der Meßfeier herausgehoben. Trotz der von reaktionären Angriffen erzwungenen, dank des Geshicks der Redaktoren Schlimmeres verhütenden Neufassung von 1970 führt sie — ganz im Sinn Odo Casels — als Sackgassen nachtridentinischer Opfertheorien heraus und entspricht dem Konsens, der sich in manchen interkonfessionellen Dokumenten der letzten Jahre abzeichnet." My emphasis. Note, by the way, the link Lengeling made between the principles behind the post-Vatican II liturgical reforms and the Paschal mystery theories of Odo Casel. For a detailed and excellent analysis of this relationship, see *Problem of the Liturgical Reform*, 53–68.

1969, Cardinals Ottaviani and Bacci presented it to Paul VI with a cover letter.

• The study and letter came to be known in English-speaking countries as *The Ottaviani Intervention*. It is considered the "charter" for the post-Vatican II traditionalist movement of Catholics who refused to accept the New Mass of Paul VI.

• Among the features of the Mass of Paul VI that the *Intervention* criticized were: the new definition of the Mass, de-emphasis of the Mass as a sacrifice of propitiation, the reduction of the priest's role, implicit denials of the Real Presence and transubstantiation, the transformation of the consecration into a narrative, the fragmenting of the Church's unity of belief, and generally, language that compromised Catholic doctrine.

• The *Intervention* made these charges against both the 1969 GI and the New Order of Mass.

• The Vatican responded by claiming that the 1969 GI was not a statement of the theological or doctrinal principles behind the New Mass.

• This response was a lie, because prior public statements from Consilium had said the opposite.

• In two public audiences in November 1969, Paul VI publicly defended the orthodoxy of the New Mass.

• To quell doctrinal objections to the New Mass, the Vatican issued a revised version of the 1969 GI, together with a new 15-paragraph Foreword (*Proemium*), which appeared when the full version of the new Missal of Paul VI was finally published in March 1970.

• The Foreword attempts to address objections that the *Ottaviani Intervention* raised by arguing that the New Mass: (1) constantly reaffirms Catholic teaching on the Mass and the Real Presence, (2) reaffirms the traditional role of the priest in offering the Mass, and (3) bears witness to the Church's unbroken tradition.

• This defense of the orthodoxy of the New Mass was inconsistent, deceptive and dangerous, and the Tridentine terminology it employed was utterly irrelevant to the rite of the New Mass itself. It was an ephemeral work that added nothing to a liturgical understanding of the New Mass.

• The revised 1970 GI was an attempt to "Tridentine-ize" the Protestant and modernist theology behind the New Mass, specifically (1) the definition of the Mass, which the 1970 GI converted into a description, (2) the claim that the *Last Supper* is made present, and (3) the role of the priest in the Mass.

• Subsequent editions of the GI in 1975 and 2000 do not substantially modify the most objectionable paragraphs.

• Despite the 1970 revisions, the substance of the GI remained the same.

The problem areas are: (1) The definition of the Mass, which still equates Mass and supper, sacrifice and memorial, substantial and other "presences" and states that *the people* "celebrate" the Eucharistic sacrifice. (2) The material on meal, sacrifice, thanksgiving and memorial remains unchanged, and the revised Instruction still does not clearly state that the Mass is a sacrifice of propitiation. (3) The other "presences" of Christ (in the people and in Scripture) and the confusing "nourishment" imagery (Scripture = "food") are unchanged, and still undermine *the* Real Presence which comes about through transubstantiation. (4) The idea that the *people* offer the Mass remains unchanged. (5) The notion of the priest as president remains. (6) The deregulation of the liturgy provided for in the 1969 GI remains unchanged, and is a license to spread doctrinal errors.

• The revisers merely introduced a "Tridentine" concept alongside one of the new terms, thus leaving one free to regard the Mass as either : (1) A propitiatory sacrifice, offered by an ordained priest, in which Christ becomes present under the appearances of bread and wine through transubstantiation; or (2) An assembly and memorial re-presentation of the Last Supper, celebrated by the people under the direction of a designated president, during which Christ is present in the people, the scripture readings and in the bread and wine.

• This procedure, thanks to the "cleverness of the revisers," was enough to fool conservatives, but ambiguous enough to accommodate ecumenism and modernist theology. It still kept us out of "the dead end of the post-Tridentine theories of sacrifice."

• No changes, however, were introduced into the new rite itself. The prayers and rites of the 1970 *Novus Ordo Missae* are identical to those of the 1969 *Novus Ordo Missae.*

• The key to understanding the theology behind the Mass of Paul VI, therefore, lies not in the pseudo-Tridentine Foreword and General Instruction of 1970, but in the Bouyer-Brilioth-Montini General Instruction of 1969.

Chapter 7

# Art, Architecture, Furnishings: Ready for Assembly

When Bugnini was editor of *Notitiae,* the official publication of Consilium and the Congregation for Divine Worship, the periodical rarely contained any photos. In the 1975 volume, however, there are two photos of the interior of St. Stanislaus Church, Bay City, Michigan, taken before and after the liturgical changes. The first photo shows an altar with a lovely neo-gothic reredos. In a niche above the altar is a splendid crucifixion scene, surrounded by statues of various saints. The second photo shows a sanctuary gutted to accommodate the New Mass, an arrangement which Bugnini in the photo caption called both "elegant and robust." The reredos is stripped of the crucifix and statues; the only religious image which remains is a modern "resurrection Christ," a Superman-like figure suspended by invisible wires above the bare table which faces the congregation.

Some statues in the "before" photo looked very familiar. It turns out that they now reside, thanks to some friends in Michigan, above the altar of the church in West Chester, Ohio where I celebrate the traditional Mass each day. Bugnini, a self-important bureaucratic sourpuss, would *not* have been amused.

St. Stanislaus and thousands of churches like it throughout the world were gutted and rearranged after Vatican II. Ornate altars were despoiled or destroyed, tables facing the people were set up, tabernacles went into hiding and images of Our Lady and the saints were destroyed, banished or sold off. New churches were built in a new style, fan- or diamond- shaped, bare of images and symbols, all rough concrete, bare brick and blond wood — the architecture of Pizza Hut. Intricately worked chalices and rich vestments were sold off or given away, and in came ceramic cups and tie-died chasubles. Not only the Mass changed, but also its setting — what the modern liturgists like to call the "worship environment."

The material items connected with worship convey a message about what occurs spiritually. In the past, the Church promulgated a whole battery of laws and decrees to regulate matters like the form of a chalice, the cut of a vestment and the proper way to construct an altar. The attention to detail was often minute. The rules ensured respect both for the Blessed Sacrament and the sublime holiness of the Sacrifice offered up to God, and reflected the

pre-Vatican II liturgical paradigm of doctrine, discipline and ceremonies.

The legislation connected with the Mass of Paul VI put an end to nearly all the traditional legislation dealing with the setting and the requisites of the Mass — the church building, the altar, the tabernacle, sacred images, vessels, and priestly vestments. Suddenly, there were new rules, no rules or endless options. What did all this mean?

Moreover, despite the legislated shift after Vatican II towards "noble simplicity" in externals (i.e., Puritan bleakness), in recent years we have once again started to see some of the old furnishings taken out of mothballs and used in the new rite: jeweled chalices, embroidered Roman vestments, lace, Baroque altar equipment, etc. How are we to view this phenomenon vis-à-vis the other elements of the New Mass? Is such splendor an integral element of the Mass of Paul VI, or is it merely a little add-on for the more aesthetically inclined?

In this chapter, we will consider the following topics: (1) The "image of the gathered assembly" as the fundamental criterion that the post-Vatican II legislation laid down for church design. (2) Mass facing the people, and the recent campaign for celebrating the Mass of Paul VI "facing east." (3) The new sanctuary design, with the regulations for altar, president's chair and lectern. (4) The disappearing tabernacle. (5) The legislation prescribing "restraint" in the number of statues and images installed in churches. (6) The ban on side altars and the discouragement of private Masses. (7) The downgrading of sacred vessels. (8) The reduction of required priestly vestments. (9) The recent trend for using ornate pre-Vatican II style liturgical fittings with the New Mass.

## "IMAGE OF THE GATHERED ASSEMBLY"

The 1969 General Instruction[1] and the new post-Vatican II Rite for the Dedication of a Church[2] clearly indicated that an entirely new principle was at work. Both documents stated that the plan of a sacred edifice should convey "the image of the *gathered assembly*."

This short phrase may not seem all that radical; but the writings of modern liturgical commentators demonstrate that it was the starting point for much that followed. In 1969 Father Alessandro Pistoia, a Roman liturgist who worked closely with Bugnini throughout the post-Conciliar reform, observed that traditional church architecture had "other" objectives:

> The exaltation of the majesty of God, the glorification of the saints (one

1. GI 69 §257, DOL 1647.
2. SC Sacraments and Divine Worship, *Rite of Dedication of a Church and an Altar*, Introductions, 29 May 1977, 2, §3, DOL 4371.

> thinks of certain shrines!), private devotion (one thinks of certain chapels constructed more for the pious exercise of meditation than for eucharistic celebration).[3]

These ends are no longer important; the objective of the new liturgical environment will now be, as Pistoia says, to promote "a celebration in which the assembly actively participates."

According to Pistoia, the assembly's active participation and the new norm for the "worship environment" flow from the new definition of the Mass found in paragraph 7 of the 1969 General Instruction:

> Behind this norm stands the whole rediscovered biblical-liturgical theology of assembly, of which the Order of Mass is the faithful interpreter where it describes the Mass beginning with the sign of the assembly: "The Lord's Supper or Mass is the sacred assembly or congregation of the people of God gathering together, with a priest presiding, in order to celebrate the memorial of the Lord." Thus the dynamic aspect of the Mass is brought into the foreground — the Mass as "action" of the whole community properly called together, aware of being, by its nature, the living temple in which and through which the sacred mysteries are renewed.[4]

The assembly, then — and not God — was to be the measure of the new liturgical environment. This should not be surprising if one understands the theological principles behind the Mass of Paul VI, in which (as Brandolini said), "the sign of the assembly is returned to the first position, following the line of more genuine tradition."[5]

Pistoia said that the new rules on church furnishing presented a "new spirit," derived from the teaching of Vatican II. Now, "the structure and environment [for the New Mass] must begin once again to 'speak' to the faith of the people of God."[6]

Naturally these principles had effects once they trickled downwards. Vatican II's decree on the liturgy gave national bishops conferences the authority to regulate sacred furnishings,[7] and the national liturgical bureaucracies began

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3. Alessandro Pistoia CM, "L'Ambiente della Celebrazione Eucaristica," EL 83 (1969), 410.
4. Ibid. "Dietro questa norma sta tutta la riscoperta teologia biblico-liturgica dell'assemblea, di cui l'Ordo Missae si dimostra fedele interprete là dove descrive la Messa a partire dal segno dell'assemblea: [Article 7 quoted]. Viene così portato in primo piano l'aspetto dinamico della Messa come 'azione' di una comunità intera appositamente convocata, cosciente di essere per natura sua il tempio vivente in cui e per cui si rinnovano i sacri misteri."
5. "Aspetti Pastorali del Nuovo 'Ordo Missae,'" EL 83 (1969), 389
6. "l'Ambiente," 421: "Strutture ed ambiente devono tornare a 'parlare' alla fede del popolo di Dio."
7. See SC §22.2, DOL 22, and §128, DOL 128.

to put the assembly theology into practice.

In the United States, for instance, the U.S. Bishops' Committee issued guidelines on church art and architecture.[8] Christians, the Bishops' Committee counseled, must "respect the primacy of the living assembly."[9] All the furnishings of a church — images, vestments, vessels, etc. — must "speak" to the assembly. The environment of worship must promote warmth, good feelings, hospitality and general chumminess. "Liturgy," the committee said, "flourishes in a climate of hospitality; a situation in which people are comfortable with one another, either knowing or being introduced to one another."[10] The primary requirement of the liturgical environment is the "gathering of the faith community in a participatory and hospitable atmosphere," and the setting of the New Mass should produce a "good feeling" in terms of hospitality.[11] Even pews should be "constructed and arranged that they maximize feelings of community and involvement."[12] This is important, since "the faithful should be able to have visual contact, being attentive to one another as they celebrate the liturgy."[13]

Such concerns would have been more appropriate for the parish coffee hour than for the Mass. But these were the principles that guided the despoliation and gutting of thousands of Catholic churches throughout the U.S. Despite a slightly less radical set of guidelines issued by the U.S. bishops' conference in 2000,[14] they continue to be the norms followed for the design and construction of the overwhelming majority of new building in U.S. dioceses.[15]

We pass on to some particulars of how the theology of assembly affected the norms in the General Instruction governing the material requisites for the New Mass.

## MASS FACING THE PEOPLE

Mass facing the people, one of the most dramatic post-Conciliar changes, was introduced even before Vatican II ended. On 26 September 1964, only ten months after the promulgation of Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Consilium issued the Instruction *Inter Oecumenici*. Chapter 5, enti-

8. *Environment and Art in Catholic Worship*, reprinted in Gabe Huck, ed., *The Liturgy Documents: A Parish Resource* (Chicago: [Archdiocesan] Liturgy Training Program 1980), 216–44.
9. §40, §41, 226–7.
10. Ibid. §11, 218.
11. Ibid. §52, 229.
12. Ibid. §68, 233.
13. Ibid. §58, 231.
14. NCCB, *Built of Living Stones: Art, Architecture and Worship* (Washington DC: 2000).
15. There is now a nascent church architecture movement in the U.S. that promotes more traditional styles for Catholic churches. Its followers have managed to construct a few edifices that are very impressive.

tled "Designing Churches, and Altars to Facilitate the Active Participation of the Faithful," contained the following fateful phrase: "The main altar should preferably be freestanding, to permit walking around it and celebration facing the people."[16] Pastors of Catholic churches throughout the world dutifully moved existing altars away from the sanctuary wall or had temporary altars constructed, and priests began facing the people for Mass.

In a few places, clergy held out against the change, but the resistance did not last long. In a letter to bishops' conferences eight months later, Cardinal Lercaro, the President of Consilium, recommended that altars facing the people be constructed in new churches, and that the change be achieved gradually in existing churches.[17] In a 1966 letter, he counseled bishops to act prudently, but stated that "The altar facing the people, certainly makes for a celebration of the Eucharist which is truer and more communal; it also makes participation easier."[18]

Paul VI pointed to the new arrangement for the altar, "placed now for dialogue with the assembly," as one of the things which made Sunday Mass "not just an obligation but a pleasure, not just fulfilled as a duty, but claimed as a right."[19]

After Vatican II, the mind of the legislator was "turn your altar around, or else." Roman decrees, and indeed the statements of Paul VI himself, put pressure on conservative pastors: most capitulated. The few hold-outs were ushered into early retirement. Rare was the parish that did not have Mass facing the people.

**1. Fraudulent History.** After Vatican II, those souls unsettled by the priest's sudden change of direction often received the bland assurance that Mass "facing the people" was really quite traditional and was the Church's primitive practice. On the surface it sounded like a reasonable argument. After all, a number of ancient Roman basilicas always had freestanding altars; the priest stood on one side and the congregation on the other. Surely, the argument went, this showed that the present practice of Mass facing the people was but a return to more ancient tradition.

The argument turned out to be completely fraudulent. In ancient times, what determined the direction the priest faced at Mass was not where the people were but where *east* was.

16. *Inter Oecumenici*, §91, DOL 383.
17. Consilium, Letter *Le Renouveau Liturgique* to presidents of the conferences of bishops, on furthering liturgical reform, 30 June 1965, §6, DOL 415.
18. Consilium, Letter *L'Heureux Développement* to presidents of the conferences of bishops, on problems in the reform of the liturgy, 25 January 1966, §6, DOL 428.
19. Homily at the Parish of Mary Immaculate in Rome, 27 March 1966, DOL 430.

Time and again the Fathers of the Church emphasized the symbolic importance of facing east for prayer. Tertullian (160–220) speaks of Christians turning to the east for prayer,[20] and says that their churches are always "in high and open places, facing the light."[21] Origen (185–254) says it should be obvious that we should pray facing east where the sun rises, since it is "an act which symbolizes the soul looking towards where the true light [i.e., Christ] arises."[22] St. Gregory of Nyssa (335–394) says we turn east to pray because "our first homeland is in the East; I mean our sojourn in paradise from which we have fallen, for God planted a paradise in Eden towards the East."[23] St. Augustine (354–430) states: "When we rise for prayer we turn toward the east, from which heaven arises... that the spirit might be reminded to turn itself to a higher nature, namely to God."[24]

Even in the Middle Ages, the eastward direction was considered the most fitting one for prayer. St. Thomas Aquinas gives three reasons for the practice: (1) The way in which the heavens move from east to west symbolizes God's majesty. (2) It symbolizes our desire to return to Paradise. (3) Christ, the Light of the World, is expected to return from the East.[25]

Naturally, the tradition of facing east for prayer affected the direction the celebrant and people faced at Mass in ancient Christian times. In the early 1970s, Msgr. Klaus Gamber, Director of the Liturgical Institute of Regensburg, wrote that there never was such a thing as a celebration of Mass "facing the people" in ancient times; rather, "there was a turning toward the east for prayer."[26] The priest behind the altar, he said, "was really facing 'toward the east,' rather than 'toward the people.'" Moreover, the first person to propose that the priest at the altar face the people was Martin Luther.[27]

To demonstrate how alien the modern idea of Mass "facing the people"

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20. *Apologeticus*, c. 16, PL 1:426–7. "Denique inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis regionem precari."

21. *Adversus Valentinianos*, c. 3, PL 2:580. "in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem."

22. *De Oratione*, c. 32. PG 11:555. "illuc nos symbolice conversos, anima veri luminis ortum veluti respiciente, orare debere."

23. *De Oratione Dominica*, serm. 5, PG 44:1183. "quando ad orientem nos convertimus... sed quod in orientalibus partibus prima nobis patria sit: dico autem de ea quam in paradiso habuimus, habitatione, ex qua ejecti sumus: *Plantavit* enim *Deus paradisum in Eden in partibus orientalibus*."

24. *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, 2.5.18, PL 34:1277. "cum ad orationem stamus, ad orientem convertimur, unde coelum surgit... ut admoneatur animus ad naturam excellentiorem se convertere, id est ad Deum."

25. *Summa Theologica*, 2–2.84.3. ad 3.

26. "Mass 'Versus Populum' Re-examined," *Theology Digest* 22 (Summer 1974), 154. I was a seminarian when this article first appeared. It confirmed my suspicions that the modernists were cynically feeding everyone lies about history in order to promote their heresies.

27. Ibid. 154–5.

would have been to early Christians, Gamber pointed out that in ancient times a curtain was drawn around the altar during the Canon of the Mass.[28] He added, by the way, that another curtain separated the men from the women. Had Consilium's experts really been interested in restoring ancient Christian practices, they could have picked that one for a starter. The Catholic feminist crowd would have aborted the liturgical revolution well before it came to term.

Archaeological studies have refuted the modern misconception (or misrepresentation) that Mass facing the people was universal until the Middle Ages. A German Jesuit, Father J. Braun, studied 150 altars in churches north of the Alps.[29] Each altar dated from the first millenium of Christianity and each was still in its original position. His conclusion: only two of them could have been used for Mass facing the people. But what of the position of the priest behind the altar in the ancient Roman churches? Braun thinks this position was chosen only if there was some special reason for it: for example, if the altar was linked to a martyr's grave, the side facing the people had to be open to give them access to it.[30]

Even the writings of Bouyer and Jungmann demonstrated that the antiquity argument for Mass facing the people was a fraud.

In a 1967 work, probably written when he was in another "Tertullian" mood, Louis Bouyer says:

> The description of the late Roman use as of an altar "facing the people" is purely modern. The phrase was never used in Christian antiquity and it is equally unknown in the Middle Ages. It makes a first appearance in the rubrics of the Roman Missals printed in the XVIth century. Then, the priest, being ordered to turn ["toward the people"] to say "Dominus vobiscum," is cautioned that, if the disposition of the altar is such that he is in that situation already, at least concerning a notable part of the congregation, he need not turn. Never, and nowhere, before that have we any indication that any importance, or even attention, was given to whether the priest celebrated with the people before him or behind him.[31]

Note how absolute his terms are: never, nowhere, before the sixteenth century, did the Church give any attention to the matter.

In a 1959 work, Jungmann says that the Oriental rites have never tolerated celebrating Mass facing the people, and added: "This is worthy of note because these rites have generally preserved the primitive, traditional

28. Ibid. 155.

29. *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2nd ed. (Munich: 1932), 2 vols.

30. *Christliche Altar* 1:412ff.

31. *Liturgy and Architecture* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press 1967), 54–5.

practices of the Church most faithfully."[32]

While altars in many churches built since the Middle Ages did not really face east, the priest and people prayed facing the same direction; this was at least a symbolic "orientation," which brought home very powerfully the role of the priest. Jungmann describes it thus:

> Now the priest is standing at the altar, generally built of stone, as the leader of his people; the people look up to him and at the altar at the same time, and together with the priest they face towards the east. Now the whole congregation is like a huge procession, being led by the priest and moving east towards the sun, towards Christ the Lord.[33]

There was, moreover, a tendency to hide the sacred rites, precisely because they were sacred, set apart and stirred up awe in the believer. Hence, the iconostastis (icon screen) in the East, and the altar curtains, the rood screens, and in Spain, even walls, that separated and obscured the place where the sacred action took place.

**2. Symbolism: A Man-Centered Liturgy.** If Mass facing the people was not really an ancient practice, what was the reason behind introducing it?

The answer is simple: the modernist theological presuppositions behind the Mass of Paul VI. The 1969 GI defines the Mass as an assembly presided over by a priest, and gathered together to celebrate a memorial supper. Christ, somehow, is "present" in this assembly; it follows, then, that the "president" who hosts the memorial supper must direct all his attention to this assembly. His role is to instruct, motivate and animate the assembly, "the living temple," as Pistoia said, "in which and through which the sacred mysteries are renewed."

In his *Mass of the Roman Rite*, Jungmann briefly discussed the pros and cons of Mass facing the people. He made the following observation:

> If Mass were only a service of instruction or a Communion celebration, the other position, facing the people, would be more natural. *But it is different if the Mass is an immolation and homage to God.*[34]

The first sentence, written in 1948, perfectly describes the new Order of Mass that Jungmann and his fellow members of Consilium Study Group 10 cooked up twenty years later: an instruction service (Liturgy of the Word) joined to a communion celebration (Liturgy of the Eucharist). The second

32. *The Early Liturgy*, 138.
33. Ibid. 138.
34. MRR 1:255. My emphasis.

sentence describes the rite they destroyed: a sacrifice which offers homage to God. The nature of the two services is different: one is directed toward man, so the priest faces the people, while the other is directed toward God, so the priest faces the altar.

Another traditionalist exaggeration, perhaps? No, simply the explanation given for Mass facing the people by another member of Study Group 10, Father Martin Patino:

> The position of the altar and of the priest at the altar seems to follow the perspective of contemporary thought, *viz.*, a theocentric theology occasioned the iconostasis and the altar apart from the people in the Eastern branches of Christendom as well as people and priest together facing God in Latin Christendom during and after the Middle Ages; *an anthropocentric emphasis in theology has occasioned the current stance of priest and people in immediate dialogue with each other.*[35]

A new theology centered on man (anthropocentric), then, rather than the old theology centered on God (theocentric), is the reason for celebrating Mass facing the people.[36]

**3. The Mass of Paul VI "Facing East"?** By the 1990s, clergy who had become disenchanted with the garden-variety version of the Mass of Paul VI discovered the arguments of conservatives like Gamber, and began promoting the idea that the second part of the New Mass should be celebrated *ad orientem*, i.e., facing "liturgical east," or "away from the people." Some even argued that the rubrics for the new Order of Mass *presumed* it would be celebrated *ad orientem*, rather than *versus populum* (facing the people).[37]

In late 1999, the argument over whether the New Mass could or should be celebrated *ad orientem* was played out in a dispute between EWTN (a conservative Catholic cable network) and the Bishop of Birmingham, Alabama, from whose diocese the network televised its Masses. The Congregation of Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments was finally asked whether *versus populum* celebration was made mandatory by the 2000 edition of the General Instruction. The Congregation's response was that facing the people was not mandatory, but recommended.[38]

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35. OMP, 243. My emphasis.

36. Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger had praise for both "directions." See below.

37. For a summary of their arguments, see John F. Baldovin, *Reforming the Liturgy: A Response to the Critics* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 2008), 109–10. As a survivor of the 1960s, I found this hilarious. Paul VI, as early as 1966, clearly expressed his will that Mass henceforth be celebrated facing the people. He, of all people, knew what his own laws meant.

38. Baldovin, 112, who also reproduces the text of the decree, 112–3.

**4. Ratzinger and the Cosmos.** The most prominent apologist for celebrating the Mass of Paul VI *ad orientem* (if not the man who inspired the movement in the first place) was Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, who argued for it in a 1981 article[39] and then in a book published in 2000.[40] His views on the issue have enjoyed a wide circulation ever since.

Because Ratzinger is forever being labeled a great theological conservative (the watchdog of orthodoxy, etc.), his comments on celebrating the New Mass *ad orientem* are viewed, understandably, as originating in the wellsprings of traditional, pre-Vatican II theology. ("Whoever prefers *ad orientem* always does so based on traditional Catholic doctrine; Ratzinger prefers *ad orientem*; therefore...")

But this impression is entirely false. For Ratzinger, the main reason for celebrating the Mass of Paul VI *ad orientem* is that the practice is more "cosmic." Here is his explanation:

> "Facing east" makes this cosmic dimension of the Eucharist present through liturgical gesture... Where priest and people together face the same way, what we have is a cosmic interpretation... "facing the altar" was in reality expressing a view of the eucharistic celebration in the context of cosmos and parousia... a tradition with strong associations, in former times, with the cosmic symbol of the "east"... not only had the awareness of the liturgy's cosmic orientation been lost... we need to be reminded that liturgy involves the cosmos... Traditionally, the "east" and the image of the cross (i.e., the cosmic and soteriological aspects of spirituality) were fused...[41]

In addition to *ad orientem* being positively cosmic, the other argument Ratzinger offers is that it brings Catholic worship into line with the liturgical "balance" achieved by Protestants:

> Our Protestant brethren, in transforming the medieval liturgical forms, have achieved a real balance between, on the one hand, the relationship of the community to its leader and, on the other, their common relationship to the cross. Their whole basic approach laid great weight on the community character of worship and the interplay of leader and congregation, whereas in the Catholic liturgy of former times this only consisted in the priest's turning around for a brief *Dominus vobiscum* or to invite the people to pray. But when it is a question of praying together, Protestants, people and leader,

39. Joseph Ratzinger, "Eastward- or Westward-Facing Position: A Correction," *Feast of Faith: Approaches to a Theology of the Liturgy* (San Francisco: Ignatius 1986), 139–45.
40. Joseph Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (San Francisco: Ignatius 2000), 74–84.
41. "Eastward-," 140–3.

> together turn to the image of the Crucified. I think we should seriously try to learn from this.[42]

Neither argument, to be sure, has anything to with orthodox, pre-Vatican II Catholic theology. And in fact, Ratzinger lifted the notion of *cosmic* from two modernists, Hans Urs von Balthasar and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

Von Balthasar (1905–88), a Heideggerian who said he "felt like tearing down" Thomistic theology "with Samson's own strength,"[43] wrote two works, *Cosmic Liturgy*[44] and *The Glory of the Lord.*[45] Elsewhere in the same book where Ratzinger argues for the *ad orientem* position, he cites these two works by von Balthasar as the basis for his statement that "Christian liturgy must be cosmic liturgy."[46]

Even worse, *cosmic* and *cosmos* are ideas that pop up throughout the works of Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1954), a Jesuit evolutionist silenced by the Holy Office in 1925 and thereafter forbidden to write. Teilhard's ideas on the "Cosmic Christ," "evolving Christ-consciousness," the "Noosphere," the "Omega Point" of cosmic evolution, etc., enjoyed a great vogue for awhile after Vatican II, and amounted to not-so-thinly-veiled pantheism. Ratzinger has long been a promoter of this heretic,[47] and indeed as Benedict XVI, he has even worked Teilhard and Teilhardian terminology into his public discourses.[48]

Ratzinger begins *Spirit of the Liturgy* (in which he likewise argues for the *ad orientem* position) with a section entitled "The Essence of the Liturgy." In the second chapter, "Liturgy, Cosmos, History," Ratzinger approvingly draws the connection for his readers between the cosmos, Teilhard and the Eucharist:

> And so we can now say that the goal of worship and the goal of creation as a whole are one and the same — divinization, a world of freedom and love. But this means that the historical makes its appearance in the cosmic. The cosmos is not a kind of closed building, a stationary container in which

42. "Eastward-," 144.

43. Quoted in Fergus Kerr, *Twentieth Century Catholic Theologians: From Neo-Scholasticism to Nuptial Mysticism* (Malden MA: Blackwell 2007), 122.

44. Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Cosmic Liturgy: The Universe according to Maximus the Confessor* (San Francisco: Ignatius 2003).

45. A seven volume work that appeared in German in 1967–9, and later published in English by Ignatius Press.

46. "The Theological Basis for Church Music," in Ratzinger, *Feast of Faith*, 115.

47. See Ratzinger's 1968 work *Introduction to Christianity* (San Francisco: Ignatius 2004), 85, 236–8, 304.

48. Thus Benedict employed *comos* and *cosmic* throughout his 2009 Epiphany homily, and in a 24 July 2009 Vespers homily in the Cathedral of Aosta spoke of "the great vision that later Teilhard de Chardin also had: at the end we will have a true cosmic liturgy, where the cosmos becomes a living host."

> history may by chance take place. It is itself movement, from its one beginning to its one end. In a sense, creation *is* history. Teilhard de Chardin depicted the cosmos as a process of ascent, a series of unions... merged into a growing synthesis leading to the "Noosphere," in which spirit and its understanding embrace the whole and are blended into a kind of living organism... Teilhard looks on Christ as the energy that strives toward the Noosphere and finally incorporates everything in its "fullness." From here Teilhard went on to give a new meaning to Christian worship; the transubstantiated host is the anticipation of the transformation and divinization of matter in the christological "fullness." In his view, the Eucharist provides the movement of the cosmos with its direction; it anticipates its goal and at the same time urges it on.[49]

Such language may sound very deep to some. In fact, though, it is just typical modernist bloviating, filled with vague ideas strung together in such a way as to defy any logic or linear reasoning. Thus Ratzinger gives us divinizations, closed buildings, stationary containers, processes of ascent, "fullness" (with quotes around it, to distinguish it from just *plain* fullness?), growing syntheses (growing on their own?), energies that strive, movements of the cosmos "with" its direction (as opposed to *without* or *against* its direction?), etc.

To hear Ratzinger hold forth on *cosmic* and *ad orientem* in an EWTN interview (as I once did) is unnerving. He offers a conclusion that will appeal to Catholics of a traditional bent (Turn to the Lord! Reverently face east!) but the theological principles on which he bases his argument (Balthasar's and Teilhard's cosmos theology) are pure poison.

All this has shades of the modernist Tyrrell's praise for the Latin High Mass. In either case, a correct practical conclusion should not blind one to the heresy that lurks behind it.

## THE NEW SANCTUARY

If the new worship was to be truly anthropocentric, the detailed, old rules which governed the disposition of the sanctuary had to be scrapped, toned down, or made optional.

First, there was the communion rail that separated the sanctuary of the church from the nave. It reinforced the idea that what went on at the altar was somehow holy, and that the clergy who performed the sacred rites were somehow set apart from the rest of men. The General Instruction did not even mention the communion rail; the only remaining general prescription is that the sanctuary "should be clearly marked off from the body of the

49. *Spirit of the Liturgy*, 28–9.

church, either by being somewhat elevated, or by its distinctive design and appointments."[50]

Like Mass facing the people, the abolition of the communion rail was sometimes presented as a "return to primitive tradition," and, like Mass facing the people, it was not. Father O'Connell notes that from the fourth century onwards, when Christians were first able to use permanent buildings for worship, a low metal, stone or wood barrier separated the clergy from the people in church.[51]

Three important pieces of furniture must adorn the sanctuary redesigned for the New Mass: an altar, a president's chair and a lectern. How are they to be arranged? The Instruction said that the congregation's attention must be drawn spontaneously to the altar,[52] a somewhat surprising statement, since nothing happens there until the Offertory.

Liturgists say there are three centers of attention in the New Mass: altar, president's chair and lectern. Pistoia calls this a "triangular system."[53] The U.S. Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy offered the following tip on the location of the altar:

> The location of the altar will be central in any eucharistic celebration, but this does not mean that it must be spatially in the center or on a central axis. In fact, an off-center location may be a good solution in many cases. Focus and importance in any celebration move with the movement of the rite.[54]

Hence, a number of new American churches had a president's chair plopped down in the center of the sanctuary, and the altar and lectern off to the sides. This bizarre arrangement naturally detracted from the central importance of the altar.

**1. The Altar.** The practice of Mass facing the people was the most striking of the post-Vatican II innovations affecting the altar, but it was not the only one. Some were obvious: altars that looked like butcher blocks, salad bars, meteorites, giant anvils[55] or copies of Rubik's Cube. Other changes were a bit more subtle and most went unremarked by laymen. But subtle changes

50. GI 69 §259, DOL 1648.

51. J.B. O'Connell, *Church Building and Furnishing* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press 1955), 13.

52. GI 69 §262, DOL 1652. "Eum autem occupet locum, ut revera centrum sit ad quod totius congregationis fidelium attentio sponte convertatur."

53. "L'Ambiente," 414.

54. Environment and Art, §73, in *Liturgy Documents*, 235. See also "The Altar of Worship," Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy Newsletter 13 (July 1977), 73. This suggestion was dropped from *Built of Living Stones*.

55. A monstrosity like this was installed in front of the Altar of the Chair in St. Peter's Basilica.

are not necessarily insignificant changes, and they are worth a comment here.

**(a) Material.** Church law traditionally prescribed that Mass could only be offered upon an altar which was (1) of natural stone, and (2) consecrated.[56] The altar could be fixed or movable. A fixed altar consisted of a large stone slab mounted on permanent stone supports; these were constructed in cathedrals and permanent parish churches. A movable altar consisted of a small stone slab, usually only broad and deep enough for the host, chalice and ciborium to rest on it; in churches where a fixed altar could not be constructed, a movable altar was set into a wooden frame large enough to support all the requisites for Mass.

The stone altar is an ancient tradition in the Church. The early Christians, who were persecuted and had no permanent structures for the celebration of Mass, probably constructed the first altars out of wood. The second form of altar originated early in the second century when priests often celebrated Mass on martyrs' tombs in the catacombs. The third form of altar became common after the persecutions ended (AD 313), when permanent stone or marble altars became possible.[57] Quite soon stone began to replace wood. Even in the fourth century, stone was viewed as a symbol of Christ; moreover, Christians associated it with the tombs of the martyrs.[58] St. Thomas later pointed out that the stone altar is a fitting symbol of Christ himself.[59]

The General Instruction paid lip-service to this ancient tradition and said the table of the altar "should be" made of stone. But the next sentence added that bishops' conferences can approve the use of "other, solid, becoming and well-crafted material."[60] With 15 words, the innovators demolished a tradition which went back at least 1600 years.

**(b) Relics.** Another innovation concerned relics. Priests in ancient times celebrated Mass on the tombs of martyrs, and Christians built altars in churches over these tombs when the persecutions finally ceased. Church law maintained this tradition until the advent of the New Mass; enclosing the relics of martyrs in the altar is no longer required.[61] The diocesan bishop "decides the suitability" of retaining the practice by considering the "spiritual good of the community"[62] — whatever that means.

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56. *Code of Canon Law* [1917], 822. By indult, priests in missionary territories could offer Mass on a "Greek antemensium," i.e., a type of decorated corporal containing relics and blessed by an Eastern Rite bishop.
57. Geoffrey Webb, *The Liturgical Altar* (Westminster MD: Newman Press 1949), 25–6.
58. O'Connell, *Church Building*, 142.
59. *Summa Theologica*, 3.83.3. ad 5.
60. GI 69 §263, DOL 1653.
61. GI 69 §266, DOL 1656.
62. *Rite of Dedication...*, Introductions, 2, §19, DOL 4387.

As a further obstacle to observing this tradition, the new legislation states that relics placed in the altar must be large enough to be recognizable as parts of human bodies.[63] Since it is difficult enough to obtain even a *small* relic from a martyr's bones, the rule in effect abolishes the traditional practice.

Moreover, it is now forbidden to place relics in the table (*mensa*) of the altar.[64] The practice dates back at least to the eighth century.[65] The new rule also complicates matters for those pastors who may want to place relics in a new altar. It is easy to see why liturgist Johannes Emminghaus says that the new liturgy pays no attention to the presence of relics in the altar.[66]

**(c) Consecration.** In the past, *every* altar had to be consecrated. The rite was both elaborate and complex. For example, in one edition of the *Roman Pontifical*, the rite for consecrating an altar covers 29 pages.[67] However, the General Instruction said only that the main altar of a church "should ordinarily" be fixed and consecrated.[68] In other words, it was recommended, but not strictly required. Moreover, in a further violation of the Church's ancient tradition, even wood and metal altars could be consecrated as fixed altars.[69]

But even this was still not enough for the innovators. The Instruction provided another option: a "movable altar." This turned out to be nothing but a table. It could be constructed of "any becoming, solid material suited to liturgical use, according to the traditions and customs of different regions."[70] A consecrated stone was not required,[71] and the movable altar did not have to be consecrated, but only be blessed.[72] The rite for this blessing, by the way, is seven sentences long; *the bishop does not even make one Sign of the Cross over the table he blesses.*[73]

Sixteenth-century Protestants like Nicholas Ridley also advocated replacing stone altars with tables because:

> The form of the table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the Popish Mass unto the right use of the Lord's Supper. For

63. Ibid. 2, §5.A, DOL 4373.
64. Ibid. 4, §11.C, DOL 4408.
65. Webb, 28.
66. Johannes H. Emminghaus, *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 1978), 110.
67. Ordo ad Altare Consecrandum sine Ecclesiae Benedictione, *Pontificale Romanum* (Malines: Dessain, 1958), 296–320, and 383–8.
68. GI 69 §262 ("Altare majus de more sit fixum et consecratum."), DOL 1652.
69. GI 69 §262 note R45.
70. GI 69 §264, DOL 1654.
71. GI 69 §265, DOL 1655.
72. GI 69 §265, DOL 1655.
73. See *Blessing of an Altar*, §9, in *The Rites: II* (New York: Pueblo, 1980), 284–5.

> the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it: the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon.[74]

Needless to say, the same change of symbolism works equally well with the theology of assembly.

**(d) Other Altar Furnishings.** The traditional legislation prescribed other marks of honor which emphasized the dignity and holiness of the altar. These externals were either abolished or made optional; they have been reduced, as Pistoia said, to the functional bare minimum.[75]

• From perhaps the fourth century, it was customary to construct the altar upon a platform — sometimes called a "footpace" or "predella."[76] The rubrics required that a canopy be suspended above the altar,[77] and that the altar be clothed with a frontal made of precious material or fabric.[78]

These were not mentioned in the General Instruction.

• The traditional rubrics prescribe three blessed linen cloths for the top of the altar,[79] out of reverence for the Precious Blood, should It be spilled by accident during the course of Mass. It is easy to understand why the rubrics prescribed linen: the altar symbolically represents Christ, and all four Gospels recount that His body was wrapped in linen.[80] O'Connell stated that the use of linen to cover the altar is mentioned in documents from the third and fourth centuries.[81]

The GI required only one cloth,[82] made no mention of the use of linen, and did not require that the cloths be blessed.

• The traditional rubrics prescribed that a *crucifix* be placed at the center of the altar. It is an object of veneration, and placed there to show the relation between the sacrifice of the cross and the Sacrifice of the Mass.[83]

The 1969 Instruction initially prescribed that a *cross* be placed "on the altar or near it."[84] There was no specific requirement that the cross be of the standard Latin design or that it have an image of the crucified Christ affixed to it. So, crosses in strange shapes (e.g., block crosses, Jerusalem crosses, dag-

74. Quoted in Michael Davies, *Cranmer's Godly Order: Part 1, The Liturgical Revolution* (Devon, England: Augustine 1976), 97.
75. "L'Ambiente," 415.
76. O'Connell, *Church Building*, 162. One does, however, now find wheelchair ramps leading to the table area — the fruit, perhaps, of a Prayer of Equal Access.
77. *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (Malines: Dessain 1906), 1.12.13.
78. *Caer. Episc.* 1.12.11
79. *Caer. Episc.* 1.12.11
80. See Mt 27:59; Mk 15:46; Lk 23:53, 24:12, and Jn 19:40, 20:5, 6.
81. *Church Building*, 196–7.
82. GI 69 §268, DOL 1658.
83. O'Connell, *Celebration of Mass*, 1:247.
84. GI 69 §270, DOL 1660.

ger crosses) multiplied everywhere, adorned with unusual corpuses like the "Resurrection Christ" or the abstract "Twisted Lizard" of Paul VI.

According to the new regulations, the cross could be the processional cross carried in and out before and after Mass. The Cincinnati Archdiocesan regulations forbade permanently installing a cross in a church, and prescribed that the only cross in the church must be the processional cross that is carried in and out.

It took until the year 2000 for the Vatican to get around to prescribing "a cross with the figure of Christ crucified upon it."[85]

• Normally six candlesticks rested on the high altar of every Catholic church. The candles themselves had to be either pure beeswax or at least predominantly beeswax.

In the Instruction, the number of altar candlesticks was left unspecified. Beeswax was no longer required for the candles themselves, which may be made out of any material which bishops' conferences deem suitable.[86]

• For major feasts, the traditional rubrics presumed that relics of the saints would be exposed for veneration on the high altar and incensed at High Mass and Vespers.

The General Instruction is silent on the matter, but in 1977 the traditional practice was forbidden.[87] The schismatic pseudo-Synod of Pistoia (named after the town, not the Roman liturgist) also tried to suppress the practice in 1786. Pius VI condemned their proposition as "rash and injurious to a pious and approved custom of the Church,"[88] a phrase which could equally describe Paul VI's abolition of nearly all the traditional requirements for the Catholic altar.

**2. The President's Chair.** In the Mass of Paul VI, the priest passes at least half his time not at the altar, but at a curious piece of furniture called the president's chair. The Instruction said that the chair "ought to stand as a symbol of his office of presiding over the assembly and of directing prayer." It is to be placed facing the congregation, but not in such a way as to "interfere with communication between the priest and people"; it should not look like a throne.[89] In many ways, it is the perfect symbol for the priest's role in the New Mass: he sits inert for periods of time while laymen do what he used to do, and he intervenes from time to time to say a prayer or improvise an

85. GI 2000 §308, in Paul VI, *Missale Romanum*, 3rd ed. (Rome: 2002).
86. GI 69 §269, DOL 1659, note R47.
87. *Rite of Dedication...*, Introductions, 4, §11.C, DOL 4408.
88. Constitution *Auctorem Fidei*, DZ 1532: "Item, praescriptio vetans, ne super altaria sacrarum reliquarum thecae floresve apponantur: — temeraria, pio ac probato Ecclesiae mori injuriosa."
89. GI 69 §271, DOL 1661.

enthusiastic comment.

The president's chair seems to have no historical precedent whatsoever. At a Low Mass celebrated in the traditional rite, the priest remains at the altar. At a High Mass, he leaves the altar while the choir chants the *Gloria* and the *Credo*, and goes to sit on a small bench, called a sedilia, located off to the side. Unlike the president's chair, the sedilia "symbolizes" nothing — except perhaps that even priests need a rest.

Prelates who celebrated the traditional Mass were another matter. A diocesan bishop offered the first part of Pontifical High Mass from an elevated throne which was surmounted by a canopy. The bishop's throne, in ancient times called the *cathedra*, symbolized his authority over the faithful of the diocese. A lesser prelate such as an auxiliary bishop was forbidden to use a throne; instead, he sat on a backless folding chair called a faldstool. The Church was so scrupulous about maintaining the bishop's throne as a symbol of his authority that the Congregation of Rites issued no less than seven decrees prohibiting the lower clergy from using armchairs in the sanctuary.[90]

If the president's chair is neither sedilia nor throne, where did it come from? The creators of the New Mass seem to have invented it. One precedent does, however, come to mind: the large armchairs which Presbyterian ministers often use when they preside over their communion services — a perfect complement to the bare wooden communion table.

**3. The Lectern (Ambo).** The GI stated that every church should have a stationary lectern (or ambo) for proclaiming the readings and the Responsorial Psalm. It may also be used for the Homily and the Prayer of the Faithful.[91] The old rules did not strictly require a stationary lectern, though many churches had one. The priest recited the readings at the altar, and at High Mass the deacon and subdeacon chanted them from the floor of the sanctuary.

Now the lectern is primarily laymen's territory, something that was out of the question in the old days. In the New Mass, lay lectors and part-time deacons use the lectern for the readings; cantors use it for singing the Responsorial Psalm and for a music rest when they need to wave their arms to signal "Time to participate!"

If your church is particularly trendy — or even if it happens to be St. Peter's Basilica — a gaggle of laymen will line up behind the lectern to proclaim individual petitions at the Prayer of the Faithful.

According to the GI, the lectern is the "natural focal point for the people during the Liturgy of the Word."[92] Indeed, it is probably the only focal point

90. See O'Connell, *Church Building*, 67n4.
91. GI 69 §273, DOL 1663.
92. See GI 69 §273, DOL 1663.

left, since the altars have been stripped, the statues have been removed, and the tabernacles have been consigned to architectural and devotional Siberia.

## THE VANISHING TABERNACLE

Before Vatican II, the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in a tabernacle on the high altar of nearly every Catholic church in the world. Church law prescribed that the Sacrament be kept in the most noble and prominent place in the church — normally the high altar, unless there was an even more splendid place in the church for it.[93]

All that has changed. You never know where you will find the tabernacle — in a side chapel, on a side altar, in a hole in the sanctuary wall, on the old high altar, at the back of the church, at the front of the church, somewhere off the vestibule. The possibilities are endless. How did this come about?

**1. New Legislation.** Vatican II prescribed a revision for church statutes dealing with sacred art and furnishings, including the placement of the tabernacle. Laws "that seemed less suited to the reformed liturgy" were to be brought into harmony with it or abolished, and bishops' conferences were empowered to "make adaptations to the needs and customs of their different regions."[94]

The first instruction for launching the liturgical changes appeared nine months later; it prescribed that the Eucharist could be reserved either on the high altar, or "in accord with lawful custom and in particular cases approved by the local Ordinary, also in another, special, and properly adorned part of the church."[95] This was the first step; reserving the Sacrament in another location was optional.

In 1967, another instruction appeared; it recommended that the tabernacle be placed "in a chapel set apart from the main body of the church."[96] The instruction also criticized the practice of reserving the Blessed Sacrament on the same altar where Mass is celebrated with a congregation "on the grounds of the sign value." Why? Because — you guessed it — Christ is present in the assembly, in Scripture, in the homily, in the minister, and only then "under

93. See *Code of Canon Law* [1917], 1268.2. The following paragraph of the canon states that in cathedrals, collegiate and conventual churches in which choral functions are held (i.e., the public chanting of the Divine Office, various pontifical services, etc.), the Blessed Sacrament may be kept in another chapel or on another altar. The presence of the Blessed Sacrament on the high altar of such churches would dictate certain changes in the rubrics of these often complex ceremonies.

94. SC §128, DOL 128.

95. Instruction *Inter Oecumenici*, 26 September 1964, §95, DOL 387.

96. SC Rites, Instruction *Eucharisticum Mysterium*, on worship of the Eucharist, 25 May 1967, §53, DOL 1282.

the eucharistic elements."[97] This was the second step; reserving the Sacrament on the high altar was undesirable, and reserving it in another location was recommended.

The 1969 General Instruction was the last step. It stated that "every encouragement should be given to the practice of Eucharistic reservation in a chapel suited to the faithful's private prayer." If this cannot be done, the Instruction conceded, perhaps grudgingly, that another appropriate place should be found.[98] Reservation on the high altar was not even mentioned.

Alessandro Pistoia explained the new arrangement by saying that the question of where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved does not enter directly into what he calls the "dynamism of the Mass" — the term, by the way, hints at the essentially psychological orientation of the New Mass. The altar and the tabernacle, he says, represent "two distinct moments" of the same mystery. To separate them is "to enrich the piety of the people of God" by bringing into relief "the celebration of Mass as 'memorial of the Lord' and the supreme moment of incorporation into the paschal mystery."[99] To the reformers, it seems, the Blessed Sacrament's loss was the People of God's gain.

The 2000 General Instruction prescribed that the diocesan bishop determine the location of the tabernacle. The Instruction reintroduced the possibility for reservation in the main body of the church, and specified that a separate reservation chapel should be "integrally connected to the church" and "conspicuous to the faithful." But it also reiterated the prescription that there be no reservation on an altar where Mass is celebrated[100] — a practice condemned by Pius XII. (See below.)

**2. Application in the U.S.** With this general legislation as its starting point, the U.S. Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy likewise recommended exile for the tabernacle:

> A room or chapel specifically designed and separate from the major space [?] is important so that no confusion can take place between the celebration of the eucharist [*sic*] and reservation. Active and static aspects of the same reality cannot claim the same human attention at the same time.[101]

The very use of the word "static" gave the game away. It was a dig at traditional Catholic eucharistic piety, which has now been superseded by something, well, "dynamic" — feelings of hospitality, for instance. The

97. Ibid. §55, DOL 1284.
98. GI 69 §276, DOL 1666.
99. See "L'Ambiente," 418–9.
100. GI 2000 §315.
101. Environment and Art, §78, in *Liturgy Documents*, 236.

committee hastened to assure readers:

> Having the eucharist [*sic*] reserved in a place apart does not mean that it has been relegated to a secondary place of no importance. Rather, a space carefully designed and appointed can give proper attention to the reserved sacrament [*sic*].[102]

It was recommended that the chapel be designed to "create an atmosphere of warmth, while acknowledging the mystery of the Lord."[103] By "acknowledging the mystery of the Lord," however, they meant that you put the tabernacle in a hole in the wall, a pillar or a little tower, but *never* on an altar, "for the altar is a place for action, not for reservation."[104]

The bishops' conference thus took the Roman legislation to its logical conclusion: the tabernacle needed to be exiled from the main part of the church; it has no relationship with the "dynamism of the Mass."

**3. Condemned by Pius XII.** In the 1940s and 1950s the left of the Liturgical Movement was already proposing that the tabernacle be removed from the high altar. Pius XII realized that what lay behind their program was nothing less than an attack on the Church's doctrine on the Eucharist.

In his September 1956 speech at the end of the International Congress on Pastoral Liturgy (where Jungmann had delivered his Fog Curtain speech), Pius XII quoted verbatim the Council of Trent's anathemas against the heretics who denied the Catholic teaching that the Eucharist was worthy of adoration and worship. He added, rather pointedly: "He who clings wholeheartedly to this teaching has no thought of formulating objections against the presence of the tabernacle on the altar."[105] The pontiff also delivered the following warning:

> There is a question, not so much of the material presence of the tabernacle on the altar, as of a tendency to which We would like to call your attention, that of a lessening of esteem for the presence and action of Christ in the tabernacle. The sacrifice of the altar is held sufficient, and the importance of Him who accomplishes it is reduced. Yet the person of our Lord must hold the central place in worship, for it is His person that unifies the relations of the altar and the tabernacle and gives them their meaning.
>
> It is through the sacrifice of the altar, first of all, that the Lord becomes present in the Eucharist, and He is in the tabernacle only as a [memory of His

102. Ibid.
103. Ibid. §79, 236.
104. Ibid. §80, 237.
105. "Sacred Liturgy and Pastoral Action," PTL 816.

> sacrifice and passion]. To separate tabernacle from altar is to separate things which by their origin and nature should remain united.[106]

Twelve years after Pius XII uttered these words, the revolutionaries had triumphed and separated the tabernacle from the altar. As the *Ottaviani Intervention* noted, those who enter a church no longer focus their attention on a tabernacle but on a table stripped bare.[107]

## STATUES AND IMAGES

Since the Blessed Sacrament and the tabernacle fared so poorly in the reform, it was only natural that saints and side altars would fare even worse. The average American church constructed since the changes is virtually bare of sacred images, and side altars are unheard of. Moreover, many older churches both in America and throughout the world were radically transformed after Vatican II to accommodate the new worship; frescoes were painted over, statues were dethroned from their niches and innumerable devotional altars were destroyed.

**1. New Legislation.** Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy stated first that the practice of placing sacred images in churches for veneration by the faithful is to be maintained — so far, so good. But the Council added a second statement which effectively negated the first:

> Nevertheless there is to be restraint regarding their number and prominence so that they do not create confusion among the Christian people or foster religious practices of doubtful orthodoxy.[108]

The sentence is vintage Vatican II and a vintage Bugnini time bomb. It contains five fuzzy terms — *restraint*, *number*, *prominence*, *confusion*, and *practices of doubtful orthodoxy* — which raise more questions than they answer. Who determines how many statues are too many, or whether a statue is too "prominent"? Are three statues too many, or are thirty too few? Is a two-foot statue in the sanctuary too prominent, or is an eight-foot statue in the side aisle just right? When does a sacred image "create confusion"? Is it when people mistake an ugly, modern "Resurrection Christ" for Superman? What is meant by "practices of doubtful orthodoxy"? Does this mean approaching the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe on your knees, or beheading chickens before a statue of St. Barbara?

The General Instruction stated merely that "it is lawful" to set up images

106. Ibid. PTL 817.
107. OI, 42.
108. SC §125, DOL 125.

for veneration — all right, set them up if you insist. It adds:

> But there is a need both to limit their number and to situate them in such a way that they do not distract the people's attention from the celebration.[109]

This statement amplifies Vatican II's warning against images which "create confusion." Such images are those which "distract" the people from the New Mass. The new 1977 *Rite for the Dedication of an Altar* takes the principle to its logical conclusion: "In new churches statues and images of saints may not be placed above the altar."[110] No more can an image of the Sacred Heart, Our Lady, St. Joseph, or any saint rest above a new altar — if you don't want to participate in the Sunday assembly, your only alternative is to contemplate a bare wall.

The 2000 General Instruction says, a little less grudgingly, that the images of Our Lord, Our Lady and the saints "may be displayed in sacred buildings for the veneration of the faithful," but hedges this a bit by repeating that they should not "distract the faithful's attention from the celebration."[111]

**2. Application in the U.S.** The U.S. Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, in its application of the Roman legislation, treated sacred images like undesirable baggage and hinted that, in virtually banishing them, another return to antiquity was at work:

> In a period of Church and liturgical renewal, the attempt to recover a solid grasp of Church and faith and rites involves the rejection of certain embellishments which have in the course of history become hindrances. In many areas of religious practice, this means a simplifying and refocusing on primary symbols. In building, this effort has resulted in more austere interiors, with fewer objects on the walls and in the corners.[112]

This slyly implied that Christians for the past 1500 years or so lost sight of what the Mass was when they started to decorate their churches with sacred images, and that only now have we begun to rediscover that primitive simplicity.

However, it appears that the early Christians were not as enthusiastic about bare walls as the modernists might like to have us believe. There are abundant examples of representations of Our Lord and his saints even from the earliest times. After the persecutions ceased in the third century, Christians built splendid basilicas which they adorned with costly mosaics, carving

109. GI 69 §278, DOL 1668.
110. *Rite of Dedication...*, Introductions, 4, §10, DOL 4407.
111. GI 2000 §318.
112. Environment and Art, §99, in *Liturgy Documents*, 241–2.

and statues.[113] St. Augustine refers several times to pictures of Our Lord and the saints in churches,[114] as does St. Jerome (+420).[115] St. Paulinus of Nola (+431) paid for mosaics representing biblical scenes and even wrote a poem describing them.[116] Examples could be multiplied.[117] Clearly the early Christians did not regard sacred images as "hindrances."

**3. The Motives.** If the practices of antiquity did not justify purging churches of sacred images, then, why was it done?

• First, to accommodate both ecumenism and modernism, the Mass of Paul VI downgraded the cult of the saints. At Sunday celebrations, the prayers commemorating a concurrent saint's feast have been abolished, while at weekday celebrations the number of saints' feasts has been radically reduced and the majority of the remaining feasts are optional. Moreover, it is theoretically possible to assist at a year's worth of Sunday and holyday Masses without hearing one saint except Our Lady mentioned by name. Why have images of people you never hear about?

• Second, statues and paintings do not bear witness to the modernist theology of assembly. The Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy said that images "must take into account the current renewed emphasis on the action of the assembly. If instead of serving and aiding that action, they threaten it or compete with it, then they are unsuitable."[118]

Well-executed frescoes and neo-Gothic Madonnas witness to heavenly things, spiritual realities. For the modernist, these realities are either secondary or irrelevant to creating an atmosphere of "hospitality" or fostering "a celebration in which the assembly actively participates."

Thus, the promotional brochure for the renovation of St. Clement's Church in Cincinnati explained that the church had been stripped bare inside because "Now the *people* are the real decoration for the church building."

## SIDE ALTARS

Side altars were another target of the innovators. Medieval and Baroque churches were packed with altars, each dedicated to a particular saint. In the twentieth century it was rare to find less than two side altars in even the

113. See Adrian Fortescue, "Images," CE 7, 665–7.

114. *De Consensu Evangelii*, 10, PL 34:1049. "in pictis parietibus quaesierunt." *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, 22.73, PL 42:446. "tot locis pictum."

115. *In Jonam*, 4.

116. See *Appendix Operum S. Paulini*, PL 61.884.

117. One of the oldest churches in Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, (from the Greek word for "beauty") was so named because of the paintings that covered its walls, the work of Greek monks who had fled the iconoclasts in the East.

118. Environment and Art, §98, in *Liturgy Documents*, 241.

humblest parish church. The custom goes back a long way. The multiplication of altars was fully established in the sixth century, due to the increase in the number of priests and private Masses. Side chapels in a church also multiplied when the cult of the saints and their relics increased.[119]

**1. New Legislation.** Already in 1964, Consilium decreed that there were to be fewer "minor altars,"[120] a principle the 1969 General Instruction reiterated.[121] Finally, the introduction to the 1977 *Rite for the Dedication of an Altar* sealed the fate of side altars with the following words:

> In new churches it is better to erect one altar only so that in the one assembly of the people of God the single altar signifies the one Savior Jesus Christ and the one Eucharist of the Church.[122]

The U.S. Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy took this legislation to its logical conclusion: side altars are to be abolished. The Committee said the symbolic function of the main altar "is rendered negligible when there are other altars in sight. The liturgical space has room for but one."[123]

The idea was not exactly new. The Jansenist heretics advocated reducing the number of altars in a church to one, while the schismatic pseudo-Synod of Pistoia recommended the following:

> The proposition of the synod [is] that it is fitting, for the good order of divine worship and by ancient custom, that in every church there be only one altar, and that it wished therefore to restore that practice.

Pius VI condemned this proposition as "rash, and injurious to the ancient and pious custom esteemed and approved for many ages, especially in the Latin Church."[124]

The post-Vatican II reformers likewise aimed to reduce the cult of the saints and private devotion. Since each side altar was normally dedicated to a particular saint, it was only consistent that they advocated abolishing these shrines.

**2. Discouragement of Private Masses.** Moreover, side altars can be used

119. O'Connell, *Church Building*, 164.
120. *Inter Oecumenici*, §93, DOL 385.
121. GI 69 §267, DOL 1657.
122. *Rite of Dedication...*, Introductions, 4, §7, DOL 4404.
123. Environment and Art, §72, in *Liturgy Documents*, 235.
124. Constitution *Auctorem Fidei*, DZ 1531: "Propositio synodi enuntians, conveniens esse, pro divinorum officiorum ordine et antiqua consuetudine, ut in unoquoque templo unum tantum sit altare, sibique adeo placere morem illum restituere: — temeraria, perantiquo, pio, multis abhinc saeculis in Ecclesia, praesertim Latina, vigenti et probato mori injuriosa."

by priests who wish to celebrate private Mass, a practice fundamentally at odds with the theology of assembly. While private Mass was at first tolerated, it was hardly encouraged. Instead, concelebration was the new ideal. The Congregation of Divine Worship recommended concelebration because it strengthens "the fraternal bonds of priests and of the whole community"; it is "a clearer portrayal of the whole community acting together and is the preeminent manifestation of the Church."[125] The Congregation's comments on concelebration seemed to imply that the desire to celebrate private Mass was a form of anti-social behavior.

The 2000 General Instruction confirmed this when it practically condemned celebrating private Mass where concelebration was possible.[126]

Private Masses have become rare anyway, because priests find it so easy to concelebrate. You don't have to do anything until the end of the Offertory, when you move from your seat to the altar. You recite a snippet of the Eucharistic Prayer and chime in when the principal concelebrant gets around to the Institution Narrative. After the Communion you retire to your chair until the service ends.

And, as if to make concelebration even more attractive to priests too lazy to say Mass on their own, but venal enough to still want the stipend, the Vatican decreed in 1965 that each concelebrant is entitled to an individual Mass stipend.[127]

## SACRED VESSELS

Because of the Church's belief in Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist under the species of bread and wine, she took great care to assure that only the noblest material touched His Body and Blood. Nothing but the best would do for God. Those parts of the chalice, the paten and the ciborium which came into contact with the Sacred Species, therefore, had to be gold or at least gold-plated. The purificator for cleansing the chalice, the pall for covering the chalice and the corporal upon which the Sacred Host rested had to be linen. After these linens came into contact with the Body and Blood of Christ, they had to be purified by a cleric in major orders before they could be given to a

125. SC Divine Worship, Declaration *In Celebratione Missae*, on concelebration, 7 August 1972, §1, DOL 1814.

126. GI 2000 §114. In a religious community "individuals should exercise the function proper to the order or ministry they have received. All the priests who are not bound to celebrate individually for the pastoral benefit of the faithful should thus concelebrate... it is fitting that priests who are present at a Eucharistic celebration, unless excused for a good reason, should as a rule exercise the function of their own order and hence participate as concelebrants..."

127. See SC Rites (Consilium), *Rite of Concelebration*, Introduction, 7 March 1965, §10, DOL 1803.

layman for washing and ironing.[128]

The Church regarded these objects as sacred and specially set apart for divine worship. The chalice and the paten were solemnly consecrated by a bishop, anointed with holy chrism, and, as the ritual said, "made into a new sepulcher for the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ by the grace of the Holy Ghost."[129] Only clerics were permitted to handle them.[130] Ciboria, purificators, palls and corporals each received a special blessing.

**1. New Legislation.** The General Instruction swept away these regulations. Gold or gold-plating was no longer required for chalices, patens and ciboria; bishops' conferences were allowed to decide what material was "noble" and could be used for altar vessels. Unbreakable materials were preferred but not required.[131] It was permitted to make patens and ciboria out of ebony, hard woods or "other materials that are prized in the region."[132] The vessels could be fashioned "in a shape that is in keeping with the culture of each region."[133] The small, shallow paten used for the priest's host alone was no longer required; it could be replaced by a paten large enough to contain hosts for the entire congregation.[134]

In effect, the legislation allowed a near-absolute freedom for priests to decide the shape and material for sacred vessels. Not surprisingly, few modern chalices, patens and ciboria followed the traditional design. Ceramic vessels became popular among American progressives, perhaps because the design complemented the New Mass's "meal" fixation. The chalices and ciboria created in this style generally looked like coffee mugs and cereal bowls, a shape certainly "in keeping with the culture of the region" — American folk wisdom, after all, says that a healthy breakfast is the best way to begin the day. Less progressive types used large metal chalices with a plain design; these generally looked like bowling trophies, minus the miniature bowler.

As for the unusual shape of new style patens, I speak from experience. While studying in a Midwestern seminary, I nearly stubbed out a cigarette in one of them. The sacristan had accidentally left a new paten on a table in the recreation room, and I mistook it for an ashtray.

The prize for creativity in sacred vessels, however — an inscribed bowling trophy? — should go to the U.S. Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy. For

128. *Code of Canon Law* [1917], 1306.2.
129. *Ordo ad Patenam et Calicem Consecrandum*, in *Pontificale Romanum*, 362.
130. *Code of Canon Law* [1917], 1306.1.
131. GI 69 §290, DOL 1680.
132. GI 69 §292, DOL 1682.
133. GI 69 §295, DOL 1685.
134. GI 69 §293, DOL 1683.

parish celebrations that feature "communion under both kinds," the Committee recommended that priests place the wine in a flagon[135] — a vessel with a handle, a spout and a cover that looks like a coffee pot. It's another nice ecumenical touch; Protestants have been using flagons at their communion services for years.

The 2000 GI re-introduced the idea that vessels used at Mass should somehow be sacred in appearance,[136] and "noble metal" is again prescribed.[137] It is a sign of how far the liturgy has fallen that these two provisions caused near-delirium in conservative circles. No more Amish crockery — the restoration has begun!

**2. Abolition of Consecration.** Chalices and patens are no longer consecrated. According to the new legislation, what makes them sacred vessels is not a blessing imparted by a priest or bishop, but the "intention" of using them at Mass. This "intention" is "made manifest before the entire community by a special blessing which is preferably imparted during Mass."[138] The priest's power to bless is reduced to a mere "manifestation of intention." The "blessing" consists of one brief prayer. The priest does not even make a Sign of the Cross over the vessels, much less sprinkle them with holy water or anoint them with sacred chrism.[139]

Since laymen can receive communion in the hand, they are no longer forbidden to handle the chalice and the paten — if a layman can lay his hands on a host, he can lay his hands on anything. Is dropping the prohibition another "return to antiquity"? Not exactly: In 370, the Council of Laodicea stated that no one below the order of deacon was permitted to touch the sacred vessels.[140]

## THE PRIESTLY VESTMENTS

Jungmann's *Mass of the Roman Rite* contains a particularly eloquent sentence about priestly vestments:

> The fact that the priest wears garments that are not only better but really special, distinct from the garments of ordinary civil life, enhanced where possible by the preciousness of the material and by decoration — all this can have but one meaning — the priest in a sense leaves this earth and enters another world, the shimmer of which is mirrored in his vesture.[141]

135. Environment and Art, §96, in *The Liturgy Documents*, 241.
136. GI 2000 §332.
137. GI 2000 §328.
138. *Rite of Dedication...*, Introductions, 6, §1, §2, DOL 4442–3.
139. See Blessing of a Chalice and Paten, §11, in *The Rites: II*, 287–8.
140. LRC, 108–9.
141. MRR 1:280.

The priest who celebrates the traditional Mass puts on six vestments over his cassock. As he takes each vestment, he recites a prayer which recalls what it symbolizes. The traditional vestments, together with the accompanying prayers, are as follows:

- *Amice:* A rectangular linen cloth which the priest tucks in around his collar. "Lord, set the helmet of salvation on my head to fend off all the assaults of the devil."

- *Alb:* A long linen garment, sometimes ornamented with lace, which hangs down to the floor. "Make me white, O Lord, and cleanse my heart; that being made white in the Blood of the Lamb I may deserve an eternal reward."

- *Cincture:* A cord which gathers the folds of the alb at the waist. "Gird me, O Lord, with the cincture of purity, and quench in my heart the fire of concupiscence, that the virtue of continence and chastity may abide in me."

- *Maniple:* A short colored silk or damask band worn over the left arm. "May I deserve, O Lord, to bear the maniple of weeping and sorrow in order that I may joyfully reap the reward of my labors."

- *Stole:* A long, scarf-like, colored silk or damask band hung around the neck and crossed over the breast. "Lord, restore the stole of immortality, which I lost through the collusion of our first parents, and, unworthy as I am to approach Thy sacred mysteries, may I yet gain eternal joy."

- *Chasuble:* A colored silk or damask outer garment, cut more or less amply, according to the style of the vestment. "O Lord, who hast said, 'My yoke is sweet and My burden light,' grant that I may so carry it as to merit Thy grace."

All these vestments can be traced back in one form or another to the earliest days of the Church, though their history is somewhat complicated. During a later period, Pope Leo IV (+855) mentions five of them[142] — the amice, alb, stole, maniple and chasuble — and Isidore of Seville (+636) mentions the cincture.[143] Vesting prayers similar to the ones the traditional Missal prescribes were used in the eighth and ninth centuries.

**1. New Legislation.** According to the General Instruction, the priest who celebrates the New Mass is required to wear only the alb, stole and chasuble.

142. LRC, 115.
143. LRC, 121.

The amice and cincture are to be used only if they are needed.[144] The maniple, made optional in 1967,[145] is suppressed. Priests who concelebrate may omit the chasuble "for a good reason" and wear only an alb and a stole.[146]

Nor was this all. A later document said that, while "it is preferable" for a priest to wear an alb for Mass, at the same time it was also preferable "not to refuse to meet legitimate needs of the day." A priest, therefore, could dispense with the alb and wear something called a "chasuble-alb," a loose-fitting vestment that entirely envelops him. Over this he wears a stole. The chasuble-alb may be worn in concelebrations, in "Masses for Special Groups," for celebrations outside a place of worship, and "for other similar occasions where this usage seems to be suggested by reason of the place or the people involved."[147] This left only two vestments which were strictly required: the stole and the chasuble.

The Instruction laid down no specific rules regarding the fabrics for the vestments, and left the decision up to the national bishops' conferences.[148]

Vestments used in the New Mass are not supposed to be "lavishly ornamented."[149] This overthrew yet another ancient tradition. Ornate liturgical vestments existed from early times; St. Augustine of Canterbury (+604), for instance, presented a newly-ordained priest with a chasuble and a stole adorned with gold and precious gems.[150]

**2. From Priest to Functionary.** In effect, the reformers stripped the priest of all but two of his traditional vestments, the stole and the chasuble; the amice, alb and cincture can be dispensed with, the maniple is suppressed, and all the vesting prayers are gone. The material for the vestments is left to individual whim and lavish ornamentation is prohibited. Why? The Instruction's indifference to priestly vesture paralleled its indifference to the sacred vessels, and pointed to a doctrinal shift. The traditional vestments emphasize the exalted nature of the sacrificing priesthood and the priest's unique part in the Sacrifice of the Mass. Gihr observed:

> In a moral sense the vestments designate the different virtues with which

144. GI 69 §298, DOL 1688.
145. SC Rites (Consilium), Instruction (second) *Tres Abhinc Annos*, on the orderly carrying out of the Consitution on the Liturgy, 4 May 1967, §25, DOL 471.
146. GI 69 §161, DOL 1551.
147. SC Divine Worship, Concession *La Sacrée Congrégation*, allowing use of the chasuble-alb, 1 May 1971, §2.c, DOL 4540. The concession, originally granted to France, was extended to other conferences of bishops.
148. See GI 69 §305, DOL 1695.
149. GI 69 §306, DOL 1696.
150. LRC, 131.

> the celebrant should be clothed and adorned after the example of the invisible High priest, Jesus Christ, whom he represents at the altar.[151]

Thus, the priest who celebrates the traditional Mass dons each vestment with a prayer that petitions God for the moral virtue which the vestment symbolizes.

In the modernist sacramental system the moral virtue of the priest is utterly irrelevant. He is a functionary who presides over, instructs and animates an assembly. If vestments somehow "speak" to the assembly, they are useful and can be retained. If, however, vestments are too special and make it seem as though the priest "leaves this earth and enters another world" to offer the sacrifice, they separate him from the celebrating assembly and must therefore be dropped.

As the *Ottaviani Intervention* says, the new regulations on vestments turned the priest into merely "a 'graduate' whom one or two signs may distinguish from the rest of the people, 'little more a man than the rest.'"[152]

## THE NEW MASS AND RETRO EXTERNALS

Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing interest among younger clergy for using retro, pre-Vatican II-style externals with the New Mass.

We have already mentioned the advocates for *ad orientem* celebration or for older church architecture styles. Clergy and laity in this camp are also drawn to using old-style church fittings and equipment: ornate altars, Baroque candlesticks, highly ornamented tabernacles, polychrome Madonnas, neo-Gothic statuary, realistic devotional paintings, jeweled chalices, lace albs and — for real enthusiasts — stiff Roman-style vestments, sometimes splendidly embroidered.

Items like this disappeared virtually overnight after Vatican II, at least in the United States. But if catalogues from church goods dealers are any indication, a tremendous market now exists for these old styles.

This movement received a great boost from the election of Benedict XVI, a man of high culture and refined artistic sensibilities. Baroque miters, elaborate papal thrones, lace cottas, Renaissance altar frontals and embroidered dalmatics are now normal fare for the Masses he celebrates in St. Peter's.

The ornate splendors of the old Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque liturgical furnishings, however, arose directly from the old theology of the Mass: God-centered, a sacrifice, hierarchical, priestly, ritually elaborate, otherworldly, etc.

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151. HSM, 273.
152. OI, 47.

The theology of the New Mass, on the other hand, is man-centered, assembly-oriented, non-hierarchical, communal, simple, instruction-oriented, etc. It is therefore incongruous to superimpose on the new rite the externals of the old rite that signified the old theology of the Mass.

Using an ornate Baroque chasuble, for instance, exalts the function of the priest-president, and thus symbolically separates him from "the assembly which celebrates." It would also violate the principle that Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy laid down: sacred vestments and appointments should be characterized by "noble beauty rather than mere sumptuous display."[153] And what "display" is more "sumptuous" than a Baroque chasuble?

The hankering after some of the old liturgical externals likewise occurred among the Anglicans. The seventeenth century Caroline Divines, so highly praised by Louis Bouyer, likewise tried to spruce up the bleak services of Cranmer's thoroughly Protestant *Book of Common Prayer* with a few of the old Catholic externals. Since the 1840s, moreover, some members of the High Church faction began using many of the Catholic liturgical fittings (vestments, crucifixes, etc.) with Cranmer's communion service. There were bitter disputes between the Anglican counterparts of spirit-of-Vatican II-ers and reform-of-the-reformers over the authentic meaning of the "ornaments rubric."

But in either case — the Anglican communion service or the Mass of Paul VI— the eye-pleasing externals have no *real* connection with the underlying rite and are nothing more than frou-frou.

It is perhaps understandable that a new generation of clergy should tire of the new worship environment — with what Father Didier Bonneterre called its *froideur glacielle* (glacial chill) — and they look longingly to the ornate glories of the Church's liturgical past. But "Tridentine-izing" the externals of the new rite cannot make it into what it was never intended to be.

For the church-in-the-round, the simple altar, the unadorned chasuble, the polyester alb, the stubby candlesticks, the bowling-trophy chalice, the abstract crucifix, the lone statue, and, above all, the bare wall are the *real* tradition for the Mass of Paul VI.

## SUMMARY

• The 1969 General Instruction and the post-Vatican II Rite for the Dedication of a Church prescribed that the plan of a church should convey "the image of the gathered assembly."

• The "exaltation of the majesty of God, the glorification of the saints [and] private devotion" are no longer important considerations in the design

153. SC §124, DOL 124.

of churches.

• The objective of the new liturgical environment, rather, is to promote "a celebration in which the assembly actively participates." The basis for this is "the whole rediscovered biblical-liturgical theology of assembly," which the New Order of Mass faithfully interprets, where it describes the Mass "as beginning with the sign of the assembly" in paragraph 7 of the 1969 GI.

• Mass facing the people was adopted nearly everywhere after Vatican II, a practice that was clearly the will of Paul VI.

• The idea that Mass facing the people was a primitive Christian practice is a twentieth-century anachronism. What really determined the direction for liturgical prayer in the early Church was where *east* was.

• The modern notion of Mass facing the people is based on an *anthropocentric* (man-centered) theology, rather than, as before, on a theocentric (God-centered) theology.

• Though Cardinal Ratzinger advocated celebrating the second part of the New Mass (the Liturgy of the Eucharist) facing east (*ad orientem*), he did so not on the basis of traditional, pre-Vatican II teaching, but rather because (1) it would bring Catholic liturgical practice into line with the liturgical "balance" achieved by Protestants, and (2) it was more "cosmic."

• Ratzinger based his *cosmic* argument on the teachings of two modernist theologians, Urs von Balthasar and the pantheist/evolutionist Teilhard de Chardin. Though Ratzinger's conclusion appeals to Catholics of a traditional bent, the theological principles on which it is based are poison.

• The post-Vatican II legislation abolished or made optional many of the material requisites that church law formerly laid down to emphasize the holiness of the altar: stone construction, relics, consecration, predella, canopy, cloths of linen, antependium, beeswax candles, six candlesticks and reliquaries.

• The legislation also prescribed two new items for the sanctuary: the president's chair and the lectern (ambo).

• A series of post-Vatican II laws forbade the celebration of Mass on an altar with a tabernacle, removed the tabernacle from a prominent place in the sanctuary, and eventually consigned it to a separate chapel. According to the new legislation, this was done "on grounds of sign value," because Christ is present in the assembly, in Scripture, in the homily, in the minister, and only then "under the eucharistic elements."

• Though the 2000 General Instruction reintroduced the possibility of placing the tabernacle in the church itself again, it reiterated the prohibition against celebrating Mass on an altar where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved.

• The ambiguous language in Vatican II's statement that there should be

"restraint" in the number of sacred images displayed in a church eventually led to the large-scale stripping of images from churches altogether. The reason given was that sacred images distract the assembly from the celebration.

• The post-Vatican II legislation effectively banned constructing side altars in new churches, and in any case, practically condemned celebrating a private Mass whenever a priest could concelebrate with others.

• The 1969 General Instruction swept away the old regulations prescribing that sacred vessels be at least gold-plated and consecrated or blessed. The 2000 GI reintroduced the prescription that sacred vessels be at least plated with "a noble metal."

• The six traditional priestly vestments required for Mass, each of which was regarded as having a special spiritual symbolism, were reduced in practice to three.

• The use of "Tridentine" furnishings for the Mass of Paul VI (vestments, chalices, images, etc.) is incongruous because the new rite is based on an understanding of the Mass that reflects an entirely new theology.

In sum, where the externals of the traditional Mass had a *mystical and spiritual end* — the glorification of God — the externals of the Mass of Paul VI have only a *practical and psychological end* — instructing the assembly. Thus the reformers retained only those external elements which, as Pistoia said, "speak to the faith of the assembly" — and consigned to the outer darkness those which merely honored the glory of God.

Chapter 8

# Introductory Rites: Meeting and Greeting

When I began researching this book in the 1980s, I had been away from typical parish celebrations of the New Mass for more than a decade. I therefore decided to "sample" various Sunday Masses in Rochester, New York after offering the Tridentine Mass at the local traditionalist chapel.

My most memorable experience occurred at a packed church in downtown Rochester during the Introductory Rites that begin the New Mass.

The band in the sanctuary (guitars and drums) had just finished the peppy, percussive Entrance Song, and the priest had enthusiastically wished the congregation good morning — to which everyone responded, with equal enthusiasm, "Good morning, Father Chuck!"

Father Chuck then took the wireless microphone off its stand, and like a host in a TV talk show warming up his audience, casually sauntered up and down the aisle, making jokey comments into the microphone, and soliciting responses from individual members of the congregation along the aisle. This was accompanied by laughter and clapping from the celebrating assembly.

Father Chuck spotted me in the back, wearing a Roman collar and a black suit. He told the congregation that it was *really* great to see a young deacon who would probably be ordained very soon. He had the congregation give me an enthusiastic round of applause.

At the time the incident struck me as jaw-droppingly bizarre (and ironic, considering why I was *really* there). But what I had experienced, courtesy of Father Chuck, was merely the logical extension of the post-Vatican II "theology of greeting," one of the factors that played a part in the formulation of the Introductory Rites of the Mass of Paul VI.

In this chapter, we will begin our examination of the New Mass itself, and will treat the following topics: (1) Some preliminary notes on the method we will follow in analyzing the New Mass. (2) The direction and general purpose of the Introductory Rites. (3) The Entrance Song. (4) The Greeting and its "theology." (5) The common Penitential Act vs. the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar. (6) The Kyrie. (7) The Gloria. (8) The Collect. (9) Two general effects of the theology of gathering.

## PRELIMINARY NOTES

Our method here will be to compare and contrast the traditional Mass and the Mass of Paul VI. Our two base texts will be the 1951 Roman Missal and the 1970 Missal of Paul VI (the Latin version, with later modifications indicated when appropriate). The following points should be noted:

(1) Our principal thesis, once again, may be summarized as follows: *The Mass of Paul VI (a) destroys Catholic doctrine in the minds of the faithful, and in particular, Catholic doctrine concerning the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the priesthood, and the Real Presence; and (b) permits or prescribes grave irreverence.*

(2) The two corollaries that will emerge in the course of proving the principal thesis are: (a) The Mass of Paul VI represents a complete break or rupture with the liturgical tradition that preceded it. (b) The Mass of Paul VI does not in fact restore the "tradition of the Fathers," that is, the liturgical ideals and practice of the early Church.

(3) In order to explore points (1) and (2), we will turn in many cases to books, articles and general commentaries written by *those most directly involved in the reform of the Mass* — either members of Consilium Study Group 10, which created the Order of Mass itself,[1] or members of Consilium's Secretariat, which directed the reform overall. These include Fathers Louis Bouyer, Carlo Braga, Peter Coughlan, Josef Jungmann, Martin Patino, Johannes Wagner, and of course, Father Annibale Bugnini, the Secretary and chief executive officer of Consilium.

We will also draw upon commentaries written by members of Consilium who worked on other aspects of the New Mass (orations, scripture readings, general intercessions, Eucharistic prayers, etc.) or who assisted Consilium in this work. These include Fathers Henry Ashworth, Matias Augé, Luca Brandolini, Antoine Dumas, Walter Ferretti, Gaston Fontaine, Joseph Lecuyer, Pierre Jounel, A.G. Martimort, Gottardo Pasqualetti, Alessandro Pistoia, Vincenzo Raffa, A.M. Rouget, and Cipriano Vagaggini.

The writings of all these men will provide us with an insight into principles, methods and intentions that influenced the process of reform.

(4) Though we will not always point it out — it would be tiresome to do so — many changes in the rite appear to derive from the theories of Jungmann and Bouyer. Suppressing prayers or mystical rites introduced into the Mass during the Middle Ages, or introducing new elements into the Mass for an instructional purpose reflect respectively Jungmann's *corruption theory* and his *pastoral liturgy theory*. The emphasis in the new rite on common and vocal participation reflects not only the ideas of the pre-Vatican II Liturgical

1. See RL, 332.

Movement in general, but also Bouyer's *assembly theology*, according to which the whole assembly celebrates the Mass.

(5) Throughout what follows, one should also bear in mind that the precedents for many practices introduced across the board in the New Mass, were established piecemeal in the pre-Vatican II liturgical changes during the years 1948–62. These include accommodating the liturgy to the perceived needs of the faithful, wider use of the vernacular, reducing the role of the priest, vocal participation as the ideal for the laity, inventing new liturgical roles, changing prayers and ceremonies to accommodate modern "needs," reducing "duplications," omitting parts of the *Ordo Missae*, conducting functions facing the people, de-emphasizing the saints, modifying texts that non-Catholics would find offensive, reducing expressions of reverence for the Blessed Sacrament and finally, even changing the Canon.

(6) And finally, readers of a more conservative bent must forever set aside the notion that Consilium engaged some giant conspiracy to deceive Paul VI about the rite they were creating.

As we have already noted, when Montini worked in the Secretariat of State he celebrated youth Masses in the Parsch/Guardini mode, and got Bugnini's pre-Vatican II liturgical productions approved by a sick Pius XII. In his pastoral letter as Archbishop of Milan, he promoted vernacularism, Bouyer's assembly theology, and Jungmann's corruption and pastoral liturgy theories. As a cardinal, he protected Bugnini, and as Paul VI, he installed Bugnini as the Great Architect of Liturgical Reform, answerable only to himself. And finally, as has been repeatedly documented in articles and books that appeared after the reform, Paul VI took an active interest in the process of creating the New Order of the Mass and personally approved each detail of it.

So, there is no question whatsoever that the rite we will now examine is in every sense rightly called "the Mass of Paul VI."

## A NEW DIRECTION AND PURPOSE

If you were to visit the church of the tee-shirt wearing and now-sixtyish Father Chuck in order to sample his Sunday morning celebration of the New Mass these days, you might now also encounter his young assistant, Father Retreaux (pronounced "retro"), clad in a high-collared cassock from Gammarelli (the papal tailors), and preparing to celebrate the 1962 version of the old Latin Mass in a side chapel.

If the two Masses were to begin simultaneously — Father Retreaux's Latin Mass in the side chapel, and Father Chuck's version of the Mass of Paul VI at the main altar — the first thing you might notice would be the *opposite directions* in which the priest conducts the rite. In the old rite, the

priest faces the *altar*, symbolically towards *God*; in the new rite, he faces the *people*, symbolically towards *man* — a change from what we saw Patino call a *theocentric* (God-centered) orientation for the Mass to an *anthropocentric* (man-centered) orientation.[2]

Moreover, not only is the *physical* direction of the rites different, but their *structure and purpose* as well. The series of prayers and rites that begin the traditional Mass are directed towards *priestly purification* (Prayers at the Foot of the Altar) and the *praise or supplication of God* (Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, and the Collect).

In the New Mass, the rites that replaced them are directed towards *establishing unity among members of the assembly* and disposing them *to celebrate the rites that follow.* According to the General Instruction, the new purpose for the opening part for the rite of Mass is to insure:

> that the faithful coming together establish communion among themselves, and dispose themselves for properly hearing the Word of God and worthily celebrating the Eucharist.[3]

Note the typical modernist expression "establish communion" — a nebulous concept, vaguely spiritual, psychological and communitarian, and one that, in keeping with the theology of the 1969 General Instruction, inflates language in order to devalue *the* Communion of the Mass.

A whole generation of post-Vatican II liturgists have picked up on these psychological and communitarian ideas and promoted them relentlessly. The Introductory Rites "create community, a community in which Christ is present and is going to renew his presence in a variety of ways,"[4] and are directed at "welding this collection of people into a single worshipping body."[5]

And this understanding of the Introductory Rites coincides perfectly with that of the men who created the New Mass. According to Coughlan, these rites help participants "to become conscious of themselves as a community."[6] Similarly, Patino says in his commentary:

> The faithful who assemble should stir up their sense of community with all believers. The entrance song arouses everybody's enthusiasm and fosters

2. "An anthropocentric emphasis in theology has occasioned the current stance of priest and people in immediate dialogue with each other." OMP, 243. See above, Chapter 7.
3. GI 69 §24, DOL 1414."ut fideles in unum convenientes communionem constituant et recte ad verbum Dei audiendum digneque Eucharistiam celebrandum sese disponant."
4. Crichton, *Christian Celebration*, 70.
5. Mark Searle and David C. Leege, "The Celebration of Liturgy in the Parishes," Notre Dame [University] Study of Catholic Parish Life, Report No. 5 (August 1985), 8.
6. PGC, 41.

> unanimity. Then the celebrant's greeting, the *Kyrie*, and the *Gloria* enliven faith in the Lord's presence among the assembly.[7]

Creating community, raising self-consciousness, arousing enthusiasm, and fostering unanimity are goals for pep rallies or group therapy, not the opening rites of the Mass. But with the Introductory Rites of the Mass of Paul VI, we have stumbled into another religious universe — and it's a long way from the foot of the altar.

## EXIT THE INTROIT

High Mass in the traditional rite begins when the choir sings the Introit, a splendid chant that sounds the spiritual tone of the celebration. The Introit has four parts: an antiphon, a psalm verse, the Glory Be, and the repetition of the antiphon. The Glory Be is omitted at Requiem Masses and during Passiontide (the two weeks preceding Easter). As the choir sings the Introit at High Mass, the priest and ministers quietly recite the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar.

The Introit is the first text taken from the Propers (variable texts) of the Mass, and so it changes according to the feast or mystery that is celebrated. The traditional Missal contains all the texts for the Introits; they follow an appointed order that goes back to the eighth and ninth centuries.[8] Though originally the Introit was used only at High Mass, it found its way into every Mass by the seventh and eighth centuries. During the late Middle Ages it became customary for the priest to read it himself at High Mass, even though the choir had already chanted it, a practice still followed when a High Mass is celebrated.

**1. To Intensify Unity.** The Mass of Paul VI begins with the Entrance Song.[9] According to the General Instruction, the purpose of the Entrance Song:

> is to open the celebration, intensify the unity of the gathered people, lead their thoughts to the mystery of the season or feast, and accompany the procession of the assembled ministers.[10]

Note the persistent psychological and communitarian theme: "intensify the unity of the gathered people."

The 1970 Missal still provided an Introit Antiphon for every Mass, but

7. OMP, 24.
8. MRR 1:330.
9. In Latin, "ant. ad introitum."
10. GI 69 §25, DOL 1415. "unionem congregatorum fovere."

using an accompanying psalm verse is optional, as is the Glory Be, which was introduced into the Mass to combat the Arian heresy.[11]

The members of Consilium disagreed over whether they should retain the Introit Antiphon in some form, so they solicited opinions on the issue in a questionnaire sent to 12,000 people. Father Brandolini, who worked on the arrangement of antiphons for the New Mass, said that the majority favored retaining the Introit for pastoral, spiritual and ecumenical reasons. Ecumenical reasons? Brandolini explained:

> Almost all protestant liturgies begin the Lord's Supper with a text from Sacred Scripture, called a "Verspruch" ["Call to Worship"], which corresponds to our Introit antiphon.[12]

That must have put an end to all the arguments.

**2. Suppressed in Practice.** Predictably, Consilium also tinkered with the selection of texts for the Introit Antiphons: for some days the older text is given; for others, a new one appears. Using the antiphon is optional anyway. The General Instruction stated:

> The antiphon and psalm of the *Graduale Romanum* or The Simple Gradual may be used, or another song that is suited to this part of the Mass, the day, or the season and that has a text approved by the conference of bishops.[13]

What happened in the United States was perhaps typical. The U.S Conference of Catholic Bishops did not approve any specific texts for the Entrance Song; instead, congregations are free to use "other sacred song" at the beginning of Mass.[14]

So, at the typical parish Sunday celebration, the congregation sings a processional song that the parish liturgy planner has chosen — a standard metrical hymn, a ditty in the evangelical "glory and praise" style, or a modern vernacular responsorial psalm from a venerable musical tradition stretching back to the 1960s.

As a result, not even the midget Introit that the Missal of Paul VI provides is used, and a form of prayer that has enriched the Catholic liturgy for over a thousand years was scrapped.

Thus is the primitive liturgical ideal restored.

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11. MRR 1:328. Jungmann probably regarded the inclusion of the Glory Be as a corruption left over from the battle against Teutonic Arianism. (See Chapter 2.)
12. Luca Brandolini CM, "L'Ordo Antiphonarum del Nuovo Messale," EL 84 (1970), 344n6.
13. GI 69 §26, DOL 1416.
14. See "Appendix to the General Instruction for the Dioceses of the United States of America," in Keifer, *To Give Thanks and Praise*, 87.

## GREETING THE ASSEMBLY

Once the Entrance Song at the New Mass is finished and the priest has arrived at his presidential chair, he begins with the Sign of the Cross. Then he "greets" the assembly with one of the three formulas that the Missal provides.

This feature of the new rite loomed very large for modern liturgists, who constructed a whole ideology around it, based on an short remark by St. Augustine about how he began Mass: *salutavi populum* (I greeted the people). Proponents of liturgical change read into this some sort of a warmer, more people-friendly liturgy, and perhaps engaged in the anachronism of imagining the saint's liturgical style as that of a fourth-century North African Father Chuck.

Be that as it may, the old Mass, one liturgist complained, "began almost brutally. The Mass began from cold."[15]

**1. The Theology of Greeting.** So, the Greeting became for modernist liturgical theology what transubstantiation was for the Council of Trent. Coughlan's commentary said that the Greeting is no less than "a recognition of the presence of Christ in the assembly, in his Church." He approvingly quoted Father Hovda's words: "Our brothers and our sisters are the first signs of Christ's presence, and the most important one."[16]

But there are greetings and then there are *real* greetings; the delivery is important. Coughlan quotes another liturgist:

> Whatever a priest is feeling at the time — whether he is nervous, worried, or irritable, his greeting should be warm, confident and friendly, and should establish that rapport between himself and the congregation which is to continue throughout the celebration.[17]

So, from the Council of Trent's exhortation that priests celebrate Mass "with all the marks of exterior devotion and piety," we progress to... warmth.

The theology of greeting evinced similar enthusiasm from Bugnini's assistant, Father Carlo Braga:

> The Greeting is the first act by which dialogue is begun anew between the priest and the people, a dialogue which fosters and brings about their communion, and signals the nature of the gathering come together in the name of the Lord, in whose midst is present Christ Himself.[18]

15. Crichton, *Christian Celebration*, 69.
16. PGC, 44–5.
17. Raymond Clarke, *Sounds Effective* (London: Geoffrey Chapman 1969), 66, quoted in PGC, 45.
18. [Carlo Braga CM], "Ordo Missae cum Populo" [Commentary], EL 83 (1969), 358n212.

It is not, he said, just a simple introduction to a prayer, but an act "by which the mystery of the presence of Christ, among those gathered in His name, is declared."[19]

Note again the modernist method of corrupting theological concepts through the corruption of language. Braga says that dialogue — a merely natural act — brings about "communion" — a word normally applied only to the Holy Eucharist. This "communion" Braga linked to the gathering, "in whose midst is present Christ Himself." Here we have slipped into the Bouyer/Brilioth world of other "real" presences invented to devalue *the* Real Presence.

Since this was the lead given by those who created the Mass of Paul VI, other commentators naturally followed suit. The Greeting and the congregation's response, said one liturgist, "help form a human community... oriented toward 'the presence of the Lord to his assembled community.'"[20] Even the way the priest extends his hands to greet the congregation is important; it should look like an invitation or an embrace. The gesture must not be "excessively restrained and ritualistic, but... marked by ease and affability."[21]

It was no wonder, then, that Father Chuck skipped the Greeting formulas provided in the 1970 Missal and got things rolling with his cheery "Good morning." The practice became very common in America,[22] and though later commentaries and official pronouncements frowned upon it, nevertheless, it was entirely consistent with the psychologized theology of greeting embedded in the General Instruction.

**2. Introductory Commentary.** After the Greeting, when there has been no singing during the procession, the congregation or the lector (or if all else fails, the priest alone) then reads what is left of the Introit.

Thereafter, the General Instruction says, the "priest, deacon or other appropriate minister may introduce the faithful to the Mass of the day" with a few words.[23] Allowing for a place in the liturgy for such comments was specifically prescribed by Vatican II.[24]

Here, the priest (or the liturgy planner) has complete freedom to determine what is to be said. Coughlan called this an opportunity which "allows the celebrant to fill out the greeting in a more spontaneous and informal

19. Carlo Braga CM, "In Novum Ordinem Missae," EL 83 (1969), 377.
20. Emminghaus, 114–5.
21. Emminghaus, 113.
22. See Notre Dame Report No. 5, 4.
23. GI 69 §29, DOL 1419.
24. SC §35.3, DOL 35. "Within the rites themselves provision is to be made for brief comments, when needed, by the priest or a qualified minister."

way."[25] Other commentators followed suit. You can "go beyond the official greeting to a more personal one."[26] The exhortation, "apart from its psychological appropriateness, can also be seen as a communication of the Spirit to the community... It is regrettable that some celebrants are neglecting this opportunity to make contact with the people, and some never seem to have used it at all."[27] In a Notre Dame University study, liturgists concluded that there is:

> a strong correlation between these opening remarks and the general tone of the liturgy that follows. For example, if the opening remarks are omitted ... the whole liturgy is likely to be stiff and formal in tone. The same is true if the celebrant fails to strike a friendly note in his opening words. On the other hand, the data show that where the celebrant establishes contact with the congregation at this point, the ensuing celebration is likely to be marked by continuing good rapport between the priest and people, by a strong horizontal awareness of the assembled people, and even more prayerful community participation.[28]

Again, there is the relentless psychological, man-centered direction of it all: everything is informality, warmth, rapport — like delivering a talk at a Rotary Club luncheon. The spontaneity of a Father Chuck is encouraged, but even a priest like Father Retreaux who is more buttoned up (figuratively speaking and, thanks to Gammarelli, even literally) can subscribe to a service from a liturgical publishing company that will provide him with appropriate comments to use each week.

In either case, there is more deregulation of what is supposedly official public worship. The contents of the post-Greeting instruction come not from the Church herself, but from a private individual (a priest, parish liturgy planner, or writer at the publishing company).

**3. Setting the Tone.** The four elements of the Mass of Paul VI we have covered so far take up two-thirds of a page in the 1970 Missal — 91 pages follow. In quantity, they constitute only a small part of the new rite. But they are important. They set the tone for the rite that follows and send a message: you are now in a new theological universe where the past has been swept away. The priest faces you from his chair, rather than bowing low before an altar and crucifix; he greets you effusively, rather than humbly protesting his

25. PGC, 45.
26. Emminghaus, 115.
27. Crichton, *Christian Celebration*, 70–1.
28. Notre Dame Report No. 5, 8.

unworthiness to God; he uses words he made up himself that morning, rather than praying with some of the same words saints used for a millennium; the theology of his Mass looks to man, rather than first to the God-Made-Man.

## THE PENITENTIAL ACT

Both the traditional Mass and the Mass of Paul VI incorporate penitential prayers or rites into their opening sections. There seems to be at least superficial resemblance between the rites when the stripped down Confiteor is used at the New Mass.

A closer examination of both rites, however, reveals that their structure, content and purposes are quite different.

**1. The Altar and Psalm 42.** In the traditional Mass, the priest begins the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar with the Sign of the Cross. This is followed by the versicle "I will go unto the altar of God," to which the ministers respond: "To God who giveth joy unto my youth." They alternate in reciting Psalm 42 (the *Judica Me*), adding the Glory Be at the end,[29] repeat the versicle and response, and then add another: "Our help is in the name of the Lord; Who made heaven and earth."

Psalm 42 mentions an altar, judgement, the deceits of an unholy world, enemies of God, and the sadness of the soul when confronted with evil. Archdale King says that the use of Psalm 42 is first recorded in a liturgical book dating from around 840.[30] Jungmann, writing in the 1940s, traced its antecedents back to the tenth century.[31] He added:

> There can be no doubt about the appropriateness of Psalm 42... When we desire to draw near God, the way is always blocked somehow by the *homo iniquus* [evil man]. We therefore cry out to Him who is our strength that He may illumine us with His light and sustain us with His faithfulness and guide us *in montem sanctam* [to the holy mountain], that height upon which the sacrifice of Golgotha will be renewed.[32]

Twenty years later, however, Jungmann and his colleagues at Consilium dropped Psalm 42 from the New Mass. It should be evident why: the ideas that this ancient prayer expresses contradict the cheery psychology of the New Mass.

The phrase "Why art thou sad, O my soul? and why dost thou disquiet

29. The psalm is omitted at Masses of the season from Passion Sunday through Holy Thursday and at all Requiem Masses. The versicle, however, is retained.
30. LRC, 226.
31. MRR 1:291.
32. MRR 1:293.

me?" runs counter to the purpose of the Greeting. No one, not even a Protestant, is supposed to feel disquieted by anything at the New Mass. Allusions to an unholy nation, judgement, the unjust and deceitful man, and affliction from the enemy express "negative" theology.

And anyway, why should the priest say he goes "to the altar of God," if he goes to the chair of the president instead?

**2. A Congregational Rite.** There was another major shift of emphasis. The penitential rite in the traditional Mass is performed by the *priest and the ministers alone;* in the new rite, it is recited by the *priest and the congregation in common.*

The priestly penitential prayers in the old Mass were originally called *apologiae* — prayers the priest used to express sorrow for his personal sins — and their first recorded use is in the eighth century. The *apologiae* gradually were lengthened, and eventually were replaced by a form of the Confiteor in the eleventh century.[33] The reform of St. Pius V laid down a uniform formula for these preparatory prayers (including Psalm 42) throughout the Roman Rite, and adopted one of the most widespread forms.[34] At High Mass, the clergy continued to follow the practice of reciting the prayers quietly while the Introit was sung.

The priest's penitential rite in the traditional Mass is as follows:

1. *Confiteor*, recited by the priest alone.
2. Prayer for God's mercy on the priest, recited by the ministers.
3. *Confiteor*, recited by the ministers.
4. Prayer for God's mercy on the ministers, recited by the priest.
5. Absolution, recited by the priest.
6. Three versicles and responses.
7. *Dominus vobiscum.*
8. Prayer for purification, recited by the priest.
9. Innvocation of saints.

There is a symmetry to this arrangement which underlines a truth of the faith: what the priest does at Mass is on a different plane from anyone else present. Hence, he makes his own special confession of unworthiness; only then do those around him make their confession.

The Mass of Paul VI abolished this distinction. The common penitential rite it introduced had no precedent in the history of the Roman liturgy, as even Jungmann admitted in his book on the New Mass:

33. TM, 164.
34. TM, 225.

> From the very first, a penitential act occurred at the beginning of Mass, in the prayers at the foot of the altar; but it was always the priest's private prayer, never extended to include the people.[35]

Not only was the common penitential rite an innovation but its origins are actually Protestant. The liturgist Ralph Keifer observed:

> Inclusion of a Penitential Rite as a communal gesture is a complete innovation in the rite of Mass; no Catholic liturgy began this way before the present Order of Mass. The communal acknowledgement of sinfulness at the beginning of eucharistic services was first introduced in the protestant communion services of the 16th century.[36]

A Lutheran liturgical scholar explained that in Protestant liturgies, the confession became a congregational act rather than a priestly one to recognize "the principle of the priesthood of all believers."[37] And this, of course, is the same principle at work in the *Novus Ordo*, where the assembly celebrates.

**3. The New Formulas.** In the new rite, the priest first "invites the people to repentance." The Latin version of the Missal of Paul VI gives one formula for the invitation: "Brethren, let us acknowledge our sins that we be prepared to celebrate the sacred mysteries." The American Sacramentary (altar missal) provided several formulas.

These need not be followed verbatim: The Roman legislation says the celebrant can "adapt" the formula "to the actual situation of the community,"[38] so this is another bit of deregulation.

After this invitation, there is brief period of silence and one of three formulas for a Penitential Act follow: (a) a stripped down *Confiteor*, (b) two versicles and responses, or (c) a short litany.

Here is the traditional *Confiteor* side by side with the one given as Penitential Act Form A:

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35. TNM, 163–4. He indirectly defends the introduction of a common penitential rite by mentioning a "simplified form" of the Holy Thursday rite for the reconciliation of sinners, allegedly introduced following the Gospel in some churches during the Middle Ages. However, this seems to have been part of the popular non-liturgical devotions attached to the sermon, rather than a part of the Mass properly speaking.

36. *To Give Thanks and Praise*, 111. For examples, see Martin Bucer's *Strassburg Liturgy* (1539), John Calvin's *Form of Church Prayers* (1542 and 1545), Thomas Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* (1552) and John Knox's *The Forme of Prayers* (1556) in Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*.

37. Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress 1947), 257.

38. See Circular Letter *Eucharistiae Participationem*, §14, DOL 1988.

| **Traditional Text** | **1969 Text (from the Latin)** |
|---|---|
| I confess to almighty God, | I confess to almighty God, |
| to blessed Mary, ever-virgin, | |
| to blessed Michael the archangel, | |
| to blessed John the Baptist, | |
| to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, | |
| to all the Saints, | |
| and to thee, Father, | and to you, my brothers, |
| that I have sinned exceedingly | that I have sinned exceedingly |
| in thought, word | in thought, word, |
| and deed, | deed, and omission, |
| through my fault, | through my fault, |
| through my fault, | through my fault, |
| through my most grievous fault. | through my most grievous fault. |
| Therefore, I beseech | Therefore, I beseech |
| blessed Mary, ever-virgin, | blessed Mary, ever-Virgin, |
| blessed Michael the archangel, | |
| blessed John the Baptist, | |
| the holy Apostles Peter and Paul | |
| | all the angels |
| all the Saints, | and Saints |
| and thee, Father, | and you, brothers, |
| to pray to the Lord our God | to pray to the Lord our God |
| for me. | for me. |

The version of the traditional text given above is the one that the ministers recite. They acknowledge their sinfulness to the priest. In the new version, the priest and the congregation simultaneously acknowledge their sinfulness to *each other*. Note that the *names* of saints and an angel have been omitted; this is the first of several times we will see such omissions occur in the new Order of Mass.

Pentitential Act B, the briefest of the three, consists of only two short psalm verses:

**Priest:** Have mercy on us, O Lord.
**People:** For we have sinned against you.
**Priest:** Show us your mercy, O Lord.
**People:** And grant us your salvation.

Form A at least mentions that we have sinned "exceedingly in thought, word, deed and omission." That is gone here, along with a reference to all the angels and saints. Liturgists note that Form B is rarely used.[39]

Penitential Act C is not really a penitential rite at all — it is a litany with three petitions. A deacon or a lay commentator may lead it:

**Leader:** You were sent to heal the contrite of heart: Lord have mercy.
**People:** Lord have mercy.
**Leader:** You came to call sinners: Christ have mercy.
**People:** Christ have mercy.
**Leader:** You sit at the right hand of the Father to intercede for us: Lord have mercy.
**People:** Lord have mercy.

There is no acknowledgement of sinfulness in this prayer. It is a mere "acclamation."

The rubric in the 1970 Missal says other invocations may be substituted for the ones provided in the Order of Mass, so once again the individual celebrant or liturgy planner is free to "customize" as he sees fit. The American Sacramentary provided seven alternate sets of petitions, perhaps for celebrants who were not creative enough to improvise on their own or diligent enough to subscribe to a liturgical resource service.

After the congregation has finished reciting one of the three forms of the Penitential Act, the priest says the *Misereatur*:

> May Almighty God have mercy on us, forgive us our sins, and bring us to life everlasting.

In the old rite, the prayer was recited twice to differentiate between the priest and the ministers of the Mass. The fusion of the two forms in the new rite, like the common *Confiteor*, is another little detail that de-emphasizes the priest's unique part in offering the sacrifice.

**4. Posture.** Another novelty in the new rite is the posture of the priest and people during the Penitential Act: they are standing upright. In the traditional Mass, the priest bows low toward the altar as he recites his *Confiteor*, and the ministers do the same for their *Confiteor*.

Jungmann himself confirms that the old practice is the authentic one: "As to the external rite, we find from the very outset that the *Confiteor* was recited

39. For instance, Emminghaus, 119, and Notre Dame Report No. 5, 4.

with body bowed profoundly."[40] Why change it then? Obviously, because the gesture expressed deep humility, a notion considered negative by modern theology.

**5. Prayers Suppressed.** In the New Mass, the *Misereatur* concludes the Penitential Act. The traditional Mass, however, contains additional prayers which Paul VI suppressed. After the *Misereatur*, the priest makes the Sign of the Cross while saying:

> May the almighty and merciful Lord grant us pardon, absolution and remission of our sins.

This prayer (called the *Indulgentiam*) clearly expresses Catholic principles concerning the pardon of sins; in fact, it also appears in the traditional rite for the Sacrament of Penance. It is a priestly prayer, and suppressing it "makes less precise the distinction between the hierarchical priesthood and the condition of a simple layman."[41]

Coughlan said quite straightforwardly that Consilium dropped the prayer "in light of ecumenical theology and changing attitudes to the practice of confession."[42]

In the traditional Mass three short versicles and responses follow, and the priest ascends the altar steps while quietly reciting the following prayer:

> Take away our iniquities, we beseech Thee, O Lord, that we may be worthy to enter with pure minds into the Holy of Holies. Through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

According to Jungmann, this prayer is the most ancient one in the prayers at the Foot of the Altar. He noted that referring to the Mass as the "Holy of Holies" dates back at least to St. Jerome (+420).[43] The prayer implies both our own utter unworthiness and the sublime holiness of the Mass — concepts alien to the more psychological ends of the Introductory Rites.

Consilium also excised the prayer which the priest recites as he kisses the altar:

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40. MRR 1:303. Indeed, the bowed posture seems to predate the introduction of the *Confiteor*. See Klaus Gamber, *The Reform of the Roman Liturgy: Its Problem and Background* (San Juan Capistrano CA: Una Voce Press 1993), 49–50. "Liturgical history tells us that until the end of the first century, in the Roman rite, the priest prepared himself for Mass in private, that is, he prayed silently. After entering the church, he would stand at the foot of the steps leading up to the altar, bowing low and remaining in this posture until after the *Gloria Patri* of the *Introit* was sung by the choir."
41. Da Silveira, *La Nouvelle Messe*, 61.
42. PGC, 47.
43. MRR 1:310.

> We beseech Thee, O Lord, by the merits of Thy saints, whose relics are here, and of all the saints, that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to forgive me all my sins. Amen.

As we have seen, enclosing the relics of saints in the altar is no longer required. The prayer also refers to the *merits* of the saints. This idea is utterly unacceptable to Protestants; they not only spurn devotion to the saints, but hold that human nature is so corrupt that it cannot merit anything. Since Consilium dropped the Absolution "in light of ecumenical theology," it is safe to say that they abolished this prayer for the same reason. We will also see it disappear from the Collects.

**6. A Devil-Free Asperges.** The Missal of Paul VI offers another option for the Penitential Rite on Sundays when it may be replaced with a "Rite of Blessing and Sprinkling Holy Water." The celebrant greets the people as usual, and briefly introduces the rite. (He may use his own words, of course.) The Blessing of Holy Water follows, after which the priest sprinkles the water on the congregation. Finally, he says a brief prayer and goes directly to the Gloria or the Collect.

The prayers for blessing holy water in the new rite are worth a brief comment. There are two options for ordinary Sundays and a special text for the Easter season. All three versions are entirely new. Using salt is optional and the exorcisms for the salt and the water are suppressed.

The prayers in the traditional rite for blessing holy water alluded to devilish deceits, the assaults of wicked and unclean spirits, the devil's power, rebel angels, the poison of the serpent, the use of Holy Water to drive away devils, and Christ's future judgement of the world by fire.

These are gone; psychology is not worried about devils and judgement. The first and third versions of the new blessing contain no allusions to the devil at all; the second mentions only the "snares of the enemy," which the American Sacramentary translated as "the power of evil." This makes you wonder whether the creators of these rites believed in the devil at all.

## THE KYRIE

In the traditional Mass, after the priest has venerated the altar (and incensed it at High Mass), he reads the Introit, and then recites the Kyrie, alternating with the ministers. The words *Kyrie eleison* (Lord have mercy) are said three times; then *Christe eleison* (Christ have mercy) three times, and *Kyrie eleison* again three times.

Aetheria, a pilgrim who visited Jerusalem in AD 390, wrote the first account which mentions the Kyrie. She said that a deacon read a list of petitions

at Vespers and "as he spoke each of the names, a crowd of boys stood there and answered him each time *Kyrie eleison*, as we say, Lord have mercy; their cry is without end."[44]

During the following century, other accounts begin to appear which show how the Kyrie was gradually introduced into Mass in the West. The words *Kyrie* or *Christe eleison* appear at first to have been responses to a litany at the beginning of the liturgy. By the time of St. Gregory I (+604), however, the petitions of the litany were left out at daily Masses.[45]

Jungmann's book on the New Mass hints that a litany used during the reign of Pope Gelasius (492–6) could be considered an ancient precedent for Penitential Act C.[46] But the only thing the Prayer of Gelasius has in common with it is the phrase "Lord have mercy." It also contains a few petitions that even Consilium might have found a bit tricky to retouch and restore. Here is one of them:

> For those deceived by the lying of the Jews... or by heretical depravity, or filled with pagan superstition, we beseech the Lord of truth: Lord have mercy.[47]

The nine-fold arrangement of the Kyrie in the traditional Mass originated in France as a reaction to the Arian heresy: God the Father is invoked three times, God the Son three times, and God the Holy Ghost three times.[48] By the ninth century this pattern was definitely followed in Rome.[49] Later, some choirs "troped" the Kyrie — that is, added additional words to it. St. Pius V suppressed the practice as an abuse.

The Kyrie in the New Mass is six-fold, rather than nine-fold — i.e, "Lord have mercy" is said twice, "Christ have mercy" twice and "Lord have mercy" twice.[50] It is led by a choir or cantor (rather than the priest), and the congregation answers.

Emminghaus said that the Kyrie is now a congregational chant; therefore, "to have a choir alone take the part of the congregation (as in 'polyphonic Masses') is hardly defensible, even though the activity of the choir might appear to be delegated to them by the congregation."[51] This is indeed the

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44. *Aetheriae Peregrinatio*, c. 24, quoted in MRR 1:334.
45. TM, 236.
46. TNM, 168.
47. *Deprecatio Gelasii*, PL 101:560 "Pro judaica falsitate... aut heretica pravitate deceptis vel gentilium supersitione perfusis veritatis Dominum deprecamur – Kyrie eleison."
48. MRR 1:341.
49. TM, 237.
50. My guess as to the reason: Jungmann saw the triple three-fold petitions as an anti-Arian "corruption."
51. *Eucharist*, 122.

common practice, and neatly destroys a considerable part of the Church's treasury of sacred music, unless you have a congregation that can sing Palestrina at sight.

The Kyrie may also be troped, "because of different languages, the music, or other circumstances."[52]

The Kyrie is omitted if "it has already been included as part of the penitential rite"[53] — that is, when Form C is used. It also disappears, along with the entire Penitential Rite, if the Rite for Blessing of Holy Water has taken place,[54] on the Feast of the Presentation (Purification),[55] Ash Wednesday,[56] Palm Sunday,[57] and other occasions, such as at the beginning of the Christmas Midnight Mass in St. Peter's Basilica, when a modernist re-write of the Christmas Martyrology is chanted.[58]

The change from a ninefold to a sixfold Kyrie is another place in the New Mass where Consilium dropped a reference (here, at least implicit) to the Blessed Trinity.

## THE GLORIA

The priest alone, standing at the center of the altar, begins the Gloria in the traditional Mass; if it is a High Mass, he chants the opening words, *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Glory to God in the highest), and the deacon and subdeacon quietly recite the rest of the prayer with him, while the choir chants the text.

The priest says the Gloria on all feasts of whatever rank throughout the year, on Sundays outside of Advent, Septuagesima and Lent, and on certain other occasions.[59] It appears frequently, since there are so many saints' feast days on the traditional calendar.

The General Instruction, as might be expected, offered a number of options for dealing with the Gloria in the new rite: the congregation, the congregation and the choir, or the choir alone sing it; or it can be recited by all together or in alternation.[60]

Its use has been drastically reduced. The Gloria is employed only on Sundays outside Advent and Lent, on feasts of Our Lord, major feasts of Our

52. GI 69 §30, DOL 1420.
53. GI 69 §30, DOL 1420.
54. M70, 892.
55. M70, 524.
56. M70, 178.
57. M70, 232.
58. The old text begins: "In the five thousand, one hundred, ninety-ninth year from the creation of the world, when God in the beginning created heaven and earth." The new text omits the years (unscientific, anti-evolutionary, shades of Galileo before the Inquisition, etc.) and begins instead with something like "A long time ago, in a galaxy far, far away..."
59. See O'Connell, *Celebration of Mass*, 1:168–9.
60. GI 69 §31, DOL 1421.

Lady, feasts of the Apostles and Evangelists, and on "special, more solemn celebrations." Other saints' feasts on the calendar have no Gloria.

The Latin text of the Gloria remained unchanged. But the German Missal provides that "The Gloria may be replaced by a Gloria-song."[61] So, in Germany, a song that a liturgy planner thinks is more "pastorally effective" can replace this ancient text.

Liturgists can only offer speculations for historical precedents to justify transforming the Gloria into a congregational song. Jungmann concedes that "the oldest sources are absolutely silent about any real participation of the faithful."[62]

Elsewhere Jungmann observes that Pope Symmachus (+514) permitted the Gloria on the feasts of martyrs.[63] Again we see the Mass of Paul VI seems to go against an ancient practice; the few martyrs left on the new calendar get no Gloria at all.

## THE COLLECT

After the *Gloria* in the traditional Mass, the priest kisses the altar, turns to face the congregation, extends his hands and says: *Dominus vobiscum* (The Lord be with you). After the response, he goes to the Epistle side of the altar, says *Oremus* (Let us pray), bows to the crucifix, lifts his hands, and recites or sings a prayer called the Collect.

As its name implies, the Collect is a short statement of the aspirations the Church brings together and presents to God on the Sunday or feast being celebrated. Its style is generally very brief and direct, and its usual form is as follows: (1) an invocation of God's name; (2) the attribution of deed or quality to Him; (3) a petition, and (4) an invocation of the Trinity. The ancient Collects are amazing creations; they present an exalted spiritual thought in a few well-chosen words, and possess a rhythm and balance nearly impossible to convey in translation.

For most days the traditional Missal prescribes one or two additional Collects called "commemorations." If, for example, the 10th Sunday after Pentecost falls on August 4, the priest says the Collect for the 10th Sunday after Pentecost, and adds the Collect honoring St. Dominic, whose feast is August 4. Each saint thus receives his due. On other days the Missal prescribes commemorations of Our Lady and all the saints, or prayers for various needs.

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61. Quoted in Emminghaus, 126.

62. MRR 1:358. However, he cites one text which speaks of popular singing of the *Gloria*, but qualifies this by saying that in smaller churches it "most likely" became the custom.

63. MRR 1:356. Jungmann observes that only bishops were permitted to intone it.

The creators of the Mass of Paul VI retained the Collect as a prayer-form, but they treated it much as they did the rest of the Mass. They moved some Collects, and edited or entirely dropped others. (Chapter 9 will be devoted to this topic.)

The priest no longer recites the Collect at the altar — he stands at his presidential chair and faces the congregation. He says, "Let us pray" and all observe a moment of silence together "so that they may realize that they are in God's presence and call their petitions to mind."[64]

Then, says Patino, "The celebrant, interpreting the feelings and petitions of the assembled people, collects them and presents them in the official wording of the prayer."[65]

Again, note the bizarre communitarian psychologizing: the priest interprets the congregation's "feelings"? Does he take courses in mind reading?

**1. Practices in America.** The American Sacramentary provided some optional extras for the priest after the *Let us pray*. First, it allowed him to employ the "expanded alternative invitatory" from the American Missal.[66] To get the flavor of this, we will look at the approved translation of the Collect for Easter. The optional material is in brackets:

> Let us pray
> [that the Risen Christ will raise us up and renew our lives]
> *Pause for silent prayer*
> God our Father, by raising Christ your Son
> you conquered the power of death
> and opened for us the way to eternal life.
> Let our celebration today raise us up and renew our lives
> by the Spirit that is within us.
> Grant this through ... .[67]

Note the repetition: the celebrant first asks the people to pray that Christ "will raise us up and renew our lives"; there is a pause for prayer, and then — sure enough — the priest says a Collect which prays that the "celebration today raise us up and renew our lives."

Unless the priest was planning to translate the English text on the spot into, say, Dutch, the repetition is both mindless and pointless; the congre-

64. GI 69 §32, DOL 1422.
65. OMP, 109.
66. See "Foreword," in *The Roman Missal... The Sacramentary* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 1974), 14.
67. Ibid. 260.

gation should have had little difficulty understanding the kindergarten translation. The method presumed that the congregation would possess an uncommonly high reserve of stupidity. But it is rooted in the relentlessly didactic methods favored by the modernist Liturgical Movement.

The Foreword to the American Sacramentary also said that the celebrant could add something at this point "in his own words." This would "make the period of silence richer." Then, silence becomes "a real and meaningful part of the celebration," and the brief, optional expansion of the invitatory "structures the silence." Note the vague mumbo-jumbo. Further, "If the priest uses his own words, the invitatory can be more concrete and effective"[68] — so, the good presider will always improvise.

Conservative types who assisted at the New Mass always found this chatter infuriating. But again, the phenomenon is merely a logical development of the ideas that the creators of the New Mass themselves expressed.

For Sundays and Holy Days, the American Sacramentary provided still another option. In place of the prescribed Opening Prayer which was (in theory, at least) an English translation of the Latin text in the 1970 Missal, the priest could use an Alternative Opening Prayer that had been composed by the liturgical bureaucrats in the national bishops' conference. These windy texts were the antithesis of the idea of "Collect,"[69] whose very name implies terseness of expression. As of this writing, it appears that this option will be abolished.

**2. Abolition of Commemorations.** At the New Mass, only one Collect is recited. Jungmann says that it now

> gains in prestige by reason of the fact that once again, as originally, only one such prayer is offered, and there is no second or third round of requests or commemorations.[70]

Though the practice may very well be a "return to antiquity," it is another little detail which helped efface the names of the saints from the sacred liturgy.

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68. Ibid. 14.

69. Here is the Alternative Opening Prayer for Easter Sunday in the American Sacramentary: "Let us pray [on this Easter morning for the life that never again shall see darkness.] God our Father, creator of all, today is the day of Easter Joy. This is the morning on which the Lord appeared to men who had begun to lose hope and who opened their eyes to what the scriptures foretold: that first he must die, and then he would rise and ascend into his Father's glorious presence. May the risen Lord breathe on our minds and open our eyes that we many know him in the breaking of bread, and follow him in his risen life. Grant this through Christ our Lord." Relentless, Mass-as-classroom yammering.

70. TNM, 171.

## GENERAL DESACRALIZING EFFECTS

Two desacralizing effects of the theology of assembly in the Introductory Rites should likewise be noted.

**1. Ritual Actions.** From the beginning of the traditional Mass through the conclusion of the Collects, the priest performs an ongoing series of ritual actions which accompany the texts of various prayers: profound bows of the body, moderate bows of the body, profound bows of the head towards the cross (for the Holy Name, during the Gloria), slight bows of the head (at the name of Our Lady or a saint), extending and joining his hands (for the *Dominus Vobiscum*), holding his hands raised for the Collect, raising and joining his hands in a circular gesture (to begin the Gloria), kissing the altar, striking the breast (during the Confiteor), raising his eyes to the cross, and signs of the cross (five times).

In the Mass of Paul VI, here is what remains: One sign of the cross begins the rite. The priest extends and joins his hands for the *Dominus vobiscum*. All present strike their breast if Penitential Act A is used. The priest holds his hands extended for the Collect. In theory, a bow of the head is made when the text mentions the three Divine Persons together, the Holy Name, Our Lady or the saint in whose honor the Mass is celebrated.[71]

The reduction of priestly sacred gestures to just about zero is more evidence of the fundamental shift to the crypto-Lutheran and modernist assembly theology. The Introductory Rites are directed towards establishing "communion" among the members of the celebrating assembly. This is effected by the priest (aided by a deacon, lector and song leader) and the congregation reciting or singing texts at each other, preferably with the aid of microphones.

Complex ritual gestures by the priest interfere with this process, because they are directed not towards the congregation, but towards God.[72]

**2. Chatter in Church.** Keeping a prayerful silence in church before Mass was a universal practice in America before Vatican II. You had a few quiet minutes in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, and you used the time to read some prayers from your Missal or to finger your beads. Carrying on a conversation with your companions would have been regarded as disrespectful to the Blessed Sacrament and distracting to those around you.

I have only anecdotal evidence, but my impression is that in middle-class suburban American parishes, it is now a general practice for those present in the church to pass the time before Sunday Mass by chatting with family and friends.

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71. GI 70 §234, DOL 1624.

72. We will return to this topic in Chapter 12, when we discuss the fate of the Roman Canon.

Coupled with this is another strange American practice: some churches have "gathering areas" in which members of the congregation are meant to socialize before and after Sunday Masses. In newly-constructed suburban churches, the gathering area sometimes contains stuffed chairs in conversational groupings, and opens directly into the nave.

In older city churches where building a new addition would be impossible, pews are sometimes removed from the back of the nave. The open space becomes the gathering area, and people do their socializing there in the nave.

The practice of pre-Mass chattering in church and even constructing places to accommodate it seem to be direct effects of assembly theology and the theology of greeting. If the assembly celebrates the Mass, and if the purpose of the Introductory Rites is to establish communion among the people, to make the people conscious of themselves as a community, to recognize the Lord's real presence in their midst, etc., then the chatty socializing beforehand is merely another way to bring those things about.

So perhaps it was more than symbolic that they removed the gold inlaid communion rail from the sanctuary of the parish church of my youth, and installed it in the back around the new gathering area — a sign of the new "real presence" that we are now supposed to adore.

## SUMMARY

• The preparatory rites of the traditional Mass and the Mass of Paul VI are physically oriented in opposite directions that reflect their different purposes. In the old Mass, the priest faces the altar (symbolically towards God), and the purpose of the rite is the purification of the priest who will celebrate the Mass and the praise of God. In the New Mass, the priest faces the assembly (symbolically towards man), and the purpose of the rite is to foster unity among the members of the assembly which will collectively celebrate the Mass.

• The New Mass effectively scrapped the Introit, which in actual practice has been replaced with a song selected by the local parish liturgy planner.

• Modern liturgists constructed a whole theology around the Greeting in the New Mass as "a recognition of the presence of Christ in the assembly." They derived these ideas from the creators of the New Mass themselves, one of whom explained the Greeting as an act "that brings about communion." Such language devalues the meaning of true sacramental communion.

• The General Instruction, implementing a practice specifically prescribed by Vatican II, allows the priest, deacon or other minister to insert introductory comments after the Greeting. The content is left solely to the discretion of the person offering the comments.

• Many features in the old Prayers at the Foot of the Altar run afoul of ecumenical or modernist theology, and were therefore suppressed in the Mass of Paul VI: Psalm 42 (because of negative theology), mentioning angels and saints by name (general modernist aversion), a profound bow (humility), the absolution prayer (ecumenism and declining confessions), the ancient prayer *Take away our iniquities* (negative theology), the prayer honoring the relics of the saints (merits rejected by Protestants and the abolition of relics), and, in the prayer for blessing Holy Water, allusions to the devil and judgement (disbelief in the devil and negative theology).

• The Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, moreover, were a *priestly purification rite.* The new Penitential Rite is a *congregational rite* which the priest and people perform together. This type of rite had no precedents in the Roman Mass, and was first instituted by Protestants to recognize "the priesthood of all believers." It is, however, consistent with the modernist assembly theology.

• The Kyrie in the New Order of Mass is to be omitted whenever it is part of the penitential rite, whenever the Asperges is used, or whenever other rites precede the Mass. This permits the removal of a prayer that has long been an integral part of the Order of Mass.

• At the old Mass, the Gloria is recited on every saint's feast. In the new rite, its use is restricted to only a few higher ranking feasts (e.g., Apostles, Angels, and Our Lady). This deprives the saints of a fitting liturgical honor that they have long enjoyed.

• At the old Mass, several Collects are sometimes recited when several feasts or liturgical observances occur on the same day; this insures that every saint gets his due. In the New Mass, only one Collect may be recited; the commemoration of other feasts is suppressed.

Chapter 9

# The Revised Orations: "New Values, New Perspectives"

One aspect of the liturgical reform that went mostly unnoticed among traditionalists was the changes in the variable prayers of the Missal called the *orations*. Though I thought I was fairly knowledgeable in liturgical matters (I had taught seminary liturgy courses, read all the available critiques of the New Mass and even written articles about it), I stumbled across this issue purely by accident in the 1980s.

I was sitting in a recliner with a writing pad on my lap, busily composing a sermon on St. Gertrude the Great. I decided to quote the Collect from the saint's feast, so I reached back to the nearby bookshelf and I pulled down a Latin Missal. It was the Missal of Paul VI, but I figured that the Collect would be the same in Latin anyway.

Though the beginning of the prayer sounded familiar, the rest seemed a bit "off." This was enough motivation for me to get out of the chair, find an old Missal and then compare the old and new Latin texts. They turned out to be quite different. Intrigued, I started comparing other orations in the two Missals and found more disparities, and none of them (insofar as I was aware) had been discussed in traditionalist critiques of the New Mass.[1]

In this chapter, we will compare the orations in the old Roman Missal with their counterparts in the Missal of Paul VI. Following our usual procedure, we will note the alterations that the reformers made in the doctrinal content.

Line-by-line comparison between the old and the new orations is a difficult task. You can't just open up the old Missal to the First Sunday of Advent, lay the 1970 Missal alongside it, and begin comparing texts. The revisers demolished the traditional liturgical calendar — Epiphany-tide, Septuagesima, and the Ember Days are gone, the number of saints remaining on the calendar has been drastically reduced, and feasts have been relocated or suppressed outright. Many of the old orations have been moved or have disappeared altogether.

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1. This incident resulted in a two-year project of comparing the orations in the traditional Missal with the orations in the Missal of Paul VI. I published my conclusions in a short study, *The Problems with the Prayers of the Modern Mass* (Rockford IL: TAN Books 1991). In 2009, the mainstream Catholic publisher that took over TAN after its bankruptcy dropped this title and my translation of *The Ottaviani Intervention*.

At first, moreover, only a partial listing of the sources for the new orations was available. Some information was published in 1971,[2] but the list did not indicate which texts had been altered. Only in late 1986 — sixteen years after the Missal of Paul VI first appeared — did the Congregation for Divine Worship finally start to publish the new prayers along with their antecedents.[3] In short, comparing the old orations with the new orations was a researcher's nightmare.[4]

This chapter will cover the following topics: (1) The origins of the orations in the traditional Missal. (2) The process of revising the orations after Vatican II. (3) Statistics on the extent of the revisions. (4) The "new values" the revisers wished to introduce. (5) How "negative theology" was purged from the orations. (6) The changed outlook on the world. (7) The revision of the prayers for the departed, including the systematic deletion of the word *soul*. (8) Changes made to accommodate ecumenism. (9) Near-total removal of the notion of the merits of the saints. (10) The deletion of allusions to miracles. (11) The consequences.

## THE ORIGINS OF THE ORATIONS

The term *oration* comes from the Latin word for a prayer or a speech. In the liturgy, it is applied to prayers written in a manner that imitates (or attempts to imitate) the eloquent Latin style of the great Roman orators (e.g., Cicero). These prayers are very brief and direct, as may be seen from the following Collect:

> Absolve, we beseech Thee, O Lord,
> Thy people from their offenses:
> that, through Thy bountiful goodness,
> we may be freed from the bonds of those sins,
> which through our frailty we may have committed.[5]

The Missal assigns each Sunday or feast-day Mass at least three orations whose content reflects the liturgical season or the saint's feast designated by the liturgical calendar.

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2. See *Notitiae* 8 (1971), *passim*.

3. See Cuthbert Johnson OSB and Anthony Ward CM, "The Sources of the Roman Missal," *Notitiae* 22 (1986), 445ff. In 1994 the same authors collated all the orations and blessings into one convenient volume and numbered the texts. See: *Missale Romanum Anno 1975 Promulgatum: Orationes et Benedictiones* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche 1994).

4. Before I began my study in the 1980s, I had to create several indices with a primitive computer database program to collate the texts of the orations and analyze their contents. By now, no doubt, all the texts are on-line somewhere in a more easily retrievable form.

5. M7, Pent 23, C, "M." Bruylants *Les Oraisons du Missel Romain* is the standard reference work containing all the orations of the traditional Missal.

The bulk of the contents of both the Missal of St. Pius V and the Missal of Paul VI consists of such prayers. They are grouped according to their use in the Temporal Cycle (seasons such as Advent, Lent and Easter), the Sanctoral Cycle (feasts of Our Lady, the Angels and the saints), Commons (texts used for more than one saint or feast), Votive Masses (for special needs or honoring certain mysteries) and Ritual Masses (weddings, funerals).

Prayers under these headings, in turn, are subdivided according to their function in the Mass: Opening Prayers (called Collects in the old Missal), Prayers over the Gifts (Secrets), Prayers after Communion (Postcommunions), Prayers over the People (*super populum*), and certain blessings.

Dom Guéranger said that there is not a single point of Christian doctrine which is not brought forth at some point during the course of the Church's liturgical year.[6] And in the orations of the traditional Missal one can see the Church unfold her law of belief through the law of her prayer, bit by bit, from the First Sunday of Advent to the Last Sunday after Pentecost.

The oldest orations in the traditional Missal are found in the Temporal Cycle. Although we do not know who wrote them all or who assigned them their places in the Missal,[7] their order of recitation throughout the liturgical year corresponds to the sequence in the sixth century Leonine Sacramentary. Tradition ascribes the authorship of the nucleus of the Collects to Pope St. Damasus (366–84).[8]

As the Church added more feasts over the course of the centuries, she also added new orations, and the size of the Missal grew. But the more ancient orations continued to retain their appointed places in the Temporal Cycle. Thus, for example, if you open both the old Missal and the old Gregorian Sacramentary to Quinquagesima Sunday, you will see the same orations prescribed for the Collect, the Secret and the Postcommunion of the day's Mass.

## THE PROCESS OF REVISION

While the identity of those who created the orations in the traditional Missal is lost forever in the mists of history, we know that the orations in the Missal of Paul VI were the work of Consilium Study Group 18b, which was appointed by Bugnini in 1965. The membership consisted of Fathers Henry Ashworth, Placide Bruylants, Antoine Dumas, W. Durig, G.A. Gracias, G. Lucchesi and A. Rose.[9] To these we may add the names of Fathers Matias

6. *The Liturgical Year* (London: reprinted by Britons Catholic Library 1983) 1:16.
7. Not even modern historical scholarship, it seems, was able to reconstruct the relevant records back beyond the fifth century. See MRR 1:49.
8. LRC, 244.
9. RL, 392–3.

Augé, Walter Ferretti, Vincenzo Raffa, and Carlo Braga, Bugnini's assistant. Their writings, culled from other sources, provide much invaluable information about how they changed the orations and why.

The study group first met at Louvain, Belgium in April 1965. Its first move was to begin overhauling the orations of the Temporal Cycle (Advent, Lent, Pentecost, etc.).

Considering the age of these prayers, this was an act of breathtaking arrogance, but it was typical of the reformers. Introducing the vernacular, said Augé, demonstrated the "limits" of the traditional orations.[10] And though Vatican II had said nothing *specific* about changing the orations, Augé said the change was justified by the Council's broader statement that: "In this reform both texts and rites should be so drawn up that they express more clearly the holy things they signify."[11] Note the underlying assumption: the prayers of the Church (some of which had been said for nearly 1500 years) had shrouded holy things in an obscurity which only the wisdom of Augé and company were now able to dispel.

The upper-ranking members of Consilium met in October 1966, and approved general principles (probably drawn up by Bugnini) to guide the various study groups. In its work on the orations, Study Group 18b was instructed: "where fitting, [to] replace expressions which have for the most part lost their significance today (the emphasis the Lenten orations place on bodily fasting, for instance) with others more in accord with today's conditions."[12]

## STATISTICS ON THE REVISIONS

The orations, then, like the rest of the Mass, were in for a bit of what Bugnini in his memoirs liked to call *qualche ritocchi* (some touching up) and *arricchimento* (enrichment). For an old oration, "touching it up" turned out to mean dropping language and concepts repugnant to Protestants and modernists. "Enriching" the Missal meant suppressing old orations in their entirety and substituting texts from other sources, sometimes in their entirety, sometimes themselves "touched up."

In writing this book, I have come across claims that the Missal of Paul VI contains three-quarters of the pre-Vatican II Missal. But the statistics show that this is nonsense. The traditional Missal contains 1182 orations. About 760 of those were dropped entirely. Of the approximately 36% which remained, the revisers altered *over half* of them before introducing them into the new Missal. Thus, only 17% of the orations from the old Missal made it

10. Matias Augé CMF, "Le Collette del Proprio del Tempo nel Nuovo Messale," EL 84 (1970), 275–6.

11. Augé, "Le Collette," 275, citing SC §21, DOL 21.

12. Quoted in RL, 393.

untouched into the new.[13]

Even this tiny percentage may be reduced still further. The first figure of 1182 orations reflects only *individual* texts in the traditional Missal — it does not take into account the many times these texts were *repeated* in several places throughout the liturgical year.

However you figure it, the bulk of the traditional orations simply disappeared under the revisers' busy blue pencils. If you want to engage in "a hermeneutic of discontinuity and rupture" between the pre- and post-Vatican II liturgy, just cite the statistics for the orations.

## "NEW VALUES, NEW PERSPECTIVES"

And the rupture, please note, is in their *doctrinal* content. For this, we have the testimony of Bugnini's assistant, Braga, who put the finishing touches on the revisers' work immediately before the new Missal went to press:[14]

> Revising the preexisting text becomes more delicate when faced with a need to update content or language, and when all this affects not only form, but also *doctrinal reality*. This [revision] is called for in light of the new view of human values, considered in relation to and as a way to supernatural goods. The Council clearly proposes this [new view] and it was kept in mind when the Temporal Cycle was revised. It could not have been ignored in revising the Sanctoral Cycle. In other cases, ecumenical requirements dictated appropriate revisions in language. Expressions recalling positions or struggles of the past are no longer in harmony with the Church's new positions[!] *An entirely new foundation of eucharistic theology* has superseded devotional points of view or of a particular way of venerating and invoking the Saints. Retouching the text, moreover, was deemed necessary to bring to light new values and new perspectives."[15]

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13. Based on the partial documentation Consilium provided regarding the sources of the 1970 Missal and based on the index of *incipits* in Bruylants, volume 1, I calculated that about 425 of the old orations were used in the 1970 Missal. Of those 425, approximately 225 were changed in some way, and approximately 200 were left untouched.

14. RL, 394. Braga was responsible for revising the prayers for the Sanctoral Cycle.

15. Carlo Braga, "Il 'Proprium de Sanctis,'" EL 84 (1970), 419. "La revisione del testo preesistente diviene più delicata quando si arriva alla necessità di un aggiornamento del contenuto o del linguaggio, e quando tutto ciò tocca non solo la forma, ma la realtà dottrinale. Si è già accennato alla nuova prospettiva dei valori umani considerati in relazione e quasi come via ai beni soprannaturali: il Concilio la propone chiaramente, ed è stata tenuta presente nella revisione del Temporale; non poteva ignorarsi nella revisione del Santorale. Altre volte l'opportunità di una revisione del linguaggio è dettata da esigenze ecumeniche; espressioni che richiamano posizioni o lotte del passato non sono più in armonia con le nuove posizioni della Chiesa. Aspetti devozionali, o di particolari modi di venerazione e invocazione dei Santi, sono superati da tutta una nuova impostazione della teologia eucaristica: anche qui è stato necessario ritoccare il testo per mettere in luce nuovi valori e nuove prospettive." My emphasis.

New views of human values, ecumenical requirements, new positions of the Church, a new foundation of eucharistic theology — clearly, then, the changes involved a lot more than merely perfecting the contents of the old Missal.

We now turn to the texts of the new orations themselves in order to discover the new "doctrinal reality," as Braga put it, the "new values and new perspectives."

## THE ELIMINATION OF "NEGATIVE THEOLOGY"

The first category of doctrinal reality to be updated in the orations was a broad one — what Consilium's revisers termed "negative theology," an elusive concept they described rather than defined. The old Advent orations, for instance, they pronounced impoverished, too "negative," too moralizing.[16] So too the Lenten orations which, still worse, were "of little relevance to the mentality of modern man." Augé explained:

> Some of these collects, in fact, spoke of, among other things, the punishments, anger, or divine wrath for our sins, of a Christian assembly oppressed with guilt, continually afflicted due to its disorders, threatened with condemnation to eternal punishment, etc.[17]

— theological dinosaurs, to be sure, in modern man's world of evolving morality.

Thus the orations in the existing Missal. So, did the revisers then gather older orations from their much-touted primitive Christian sources,[18] texts that were less negative and more joyous, and substitute these for the negative texts in the pre-Vatican II Missal?

Alas, pity the poor revisers. For the prayers in the most ancient liturgical sources (books called sacramentaries) likewise contained negative concepts.

Consilium, therefore, incorporated into the Missal of Paul VI only those older texts "which could still have a pastoral worth for contemporary man." To have introduced unaltered ancient prayers which alluded to doctrinal controversies or fasting, or which disparaged the things of this world, would have created, said the revisers, "difficulty for the psychology of the man who experiences other problems, who has a different way of thinking, and who lives in a different material and disciplinary situation."[19] Mental institutions, no doubt, would have been crowded.

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16. Augé, "Le Collette," 275–8.

17. Augé, "Le Collette," 287.

18. The progress of liturgical studies and the fruits it bore in his reform, Paul VI said, would ensure that these doctrinal and spiritual riches, far from being hidden in the dark, would now "be put into use for the enlightenment of the mind of Christians and the nurture of their spirit." Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum*, approving the new Roman Missal, 3 April 1969, DOL 1358.

19. Carlo Braga CM, "Il Nuovo Messale Romano," EL 84 (1970), 272.

**1. "Negative" Doctrine.** What doctrinal realities in the traditional orations are too negative or create difficulties for contemporary man? The list is extensive. The best way to get the flavor of the offending or now-irrelevant concepts is to imagine "contemporary man," and discover what he does *not* believe in, based on the texts Consilium altered or cut out of the Missal:

Contemporary man can no longer bear to hear of the depravity of sin,[20] the wounds sin inflicts,[21] sin as snares of wickedness,[22] sin gravely offending the divine majesty,[23] and sin as the way to perdition.[24]

But why should he? There is no longer any need to feel terror in the face of God's fury,[25] His indignation,[26] or the blows of His wrath;[27] nor to feel weighed down by the burden of evil,[28] like a captive[29] in the bonds[30] of sin.

Contemporary man is at ease in this life, where he prefers not to be reminded of adversities,[31] dangers,[32] enemies,[33] evils,[34] and

20. Cf. M155 (*prava despiciens*) & M70, 552, S. Gregorii VII. Suppressed: M585 (*vincula nostrae pravitatis*).

21. Cf. M992 (*culpae vulnera*) & M70, 213; M785 (*peccati vulnere disgregatae)* & M70, 380.

22. Cf. M330 (*pravitatis insidias*) & M70, 558, S. Ephraem. Suppressed: M314 (*ex nostra pravitate affligimur*).

23. Cf. M1030 (*majestatem tuam graviter delinquendo offendimus*) & M70, 622, S. Brunonis.

24. Suppressed: M340 (*de perditionis via*).

25. Cf. M344 (*divinae tuae iracundiae terrores*) & M70, 818, #34. Suppressed: M319, (*flagella tuae iracundiae quae meremur);* M395 (*iracundiae tuae flagella*); M532 (*ab iracundiae tuae terroribus*); M749 (*iram indignationis tuae*); M826 (*ab eo flagella tuae iracundiae clementer averte*).

26. Suppressed: M450 (*numquam indignationem tuam provocemus elati*); M167 (*te indignante talia flagella prodire*).

27. Suppressed: M798 (*cujus iram terrae fundamenta concutientem expavimus).*

28. Cf. M649 (*pondus propriae actionis gravat*) & M70, 517, S. Fabiane; M261 (*peccatorum nostrorum pondere premimur*) & M70, 589, P. Suppressed: M914 (*malorum nostrorum pondere premimur*).

29. Suppressed: M429 (*a captivitate animae liberemur*); M286 (*peccatorum captivitate*).

30. Suppressed: M6, M302, M365, M472 (*vincula peccatorum*).

31. Cf. M192 (*in tot adversis*) & M70, 236, C; M333 (*liberemur adversis*), & M70, 540 C, S. Vincentii Ferrer. Suppressed: M44, M158, M1138 (*tueantur adversis*); M37 (*inter adversa securi*); M196 (*ab omni adversitate*); M231, (*omnia adversantia*); M325 (*omni adversitate fugata*); M388 (*a cunctis eripi mereamur adversis*); M547 (*ab omni adversitate liberentur*); M557 (*a cunctis adversitatibus sit libera*); M666 (*nullis afficiantur adversis*); M688 (*adversitatibus expeditos*); M736, M953 (*ab omni adversitate custodias*); M867, M884 (*cuncta nobis adversantia*); M945 (*contra omnia adversa*); M1091 (*contra omnes adversitates subsidium*); M1133 (*a cunctis adversitatibus protege*); M1155 (*nulla ei nocebit adversitas*).

32. Cf. M947 (*humanis non sinas subjacere periculis*) & M70, 373 P; M482 (*praesentibus periculis liberati*), & M70, 555 P. Suppressed: M1 (*corporis defende periculis*); M24 (*ab omni malo et periculo liberemur*); M34 (*a periculis omnibus eruamur*); M240 (*amotis periculis*); M488 (*praesentis temporis pericula devitare*); M730 (*a cunctis nos defende periculis*); M910 (*ab omnibus mentis et corporis periculis*).

33. Suppressed: M36 (*ab hostium furore defende*); M94 (*de inimicis nostris victores nos efficiat*); M174 (*cunctis efficiamur hostibus fortiores*); M196 (*ab hostium propitius tuere clementer insidiis*); M201 (*hostium sublata formidine*); M241 (*eorum insidiis potenter eripe*); M249, M270 (*omnium hostium superatis insidiis*); M587 (*ab inimicorum defendat insidiis*); M811 (*ab hostium impugnatione defende*); M1080, M1158 (*ab hostium liberemur insidiis*).

34. Suppressed: M152 (*a praesentis vitae malis ereptos*); M801 (*a praesentis vitae malis*).

tribulations.[35] He does not believe that he merits evil in this life for evil deeds,[36] that his afflictions here result from sins,[37] that being struck down by God heals him,[38] or that he is worthy of chastisements.[39]

Thanks to the diligent work of Consilium, the "psychology" of this man will encounter few difficulties with the new orations, since they do not emphasize such obsolete notions as the fragility of the human condition,[40] infirmities of soul,[41] our weak will,[42] our languor of soul,[43] our obstinacy of heart,[44] the strength of our vices,[45] concupiscence of the flesh and the eyes,[46] and continual affliction from our excesses.[47]

Since contemporary man feels no need to express a lack of confidence in his own justice or strength[48] and balks at putting aside his pride[49] by considering his helplessness,[50] unworthiness,[51] and lack of merits,[52] there is still less

35. Suppressed: M380 (*ex quacumque tribulatione*); M682 (*continuis tribulationibus laborantem*); M1179 (*in tribulatione percipimus*).

36. Cf. M688 (*mala omnia, quae meremur, averte*) & M70, 548, S. Suppressed: M6 (*quidquid pro eis meremur, propitiatus averte*); M134 (*ex merito nostrae actionis affligimur*).

37. Suppressed: M6 (*pro peccatis affligimur*); M406 (*ea quae pro peccatis nostris patimur*); M648 (*et a poenis, quas pro his meremur, eripias*); M887 (*qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur*).

38. Suppressed: M463 (*nos percutiendo sanas*).

39. Suppressed: M806 (*dignis flagellationibus castigatus*).

40. Cf. M394 (*fragilitatem conditionis humanae*) & M70, 179; M981 (*fragilitatis subsidium*) & M70, 349, S. Suppressed: M406 (*pro humana scis fragilitate non posse subsistere*); M684 (*fragilitas nostra subsistat; ut, quae sua conditione atteritur*).

41. Suppressed: M609 (*animae infirmitates*).

42. Suppressed: M359 (*nostrae voluntatis pravitatem frangere*).

43. Suppressed: M900 (*animarum nostrarum medere languoribus*).

44. Suppressed: M366 (*obstinantis peccatorum cordibus*).

45. Cf. M295 (*vitia nostra curentur*) & M70, 533, S. Joannis a Deo; M213 (*omnia in nobis vitiorum mala mortifica*) & M70, 660, C. Suppressed: M178 (*vitiorum nostrorum flammas extinguere*); M452 (*ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum*); M656 (*a vitiis jejunemus in mente*); M827, M838 (*a noxiis quoque vitiis cessare concede*); M843 (*a vitiis quoque mente jejunet*); M850 (*a vitiis irruentibus*); M1047 (*vitiorum aestibus*) M1045.

46. Suppressed: M593 (*concupiscentiam carnis et oculorum*).

47. Suppressed: M868 (*qui nostris excessibus incessanter affligimur*).

48. Suppressed: M31 (*qui nostrae justitiae fiduciam non habemus*); M313 (*omni nos virtute destitui*); M315 (*ex nulla nostra actione confidimus*).

49. Cf. M155 (*superbe non sapere, sed tibi placita humilitate proficere*) and M70, 552, C. Suppressed: M171 (*superbe non sapere, humilitate deservire*).

50. Suppressed: M69 (*possibilitas nostra non obtinet*).

51. Cf. M728 (*nostris non aptae sunt meritis*), & M70, 580, S. Suppressed: M163 (*quas digna mente non possumus celebrare*); M651 (*nostris meritis non valemus*); M743 (*nullis suffragantibus meritis*); M941 *quem nomini tuo indigni dedicavimus*).

52. Cf. M651 (*nostris meritis non valemus*) & M70, 516, C, S. Antonii, abbatis.

need to remind him of troubling concepts such as the temptations,[53] wicked thoughts,[54] dangers to the soul,[55] and enemies of soul and body.[56]

Should he, despite this cheery world-view, somehow acknowledge that he has fallen into sin, the spirit of compunction[57] will have no place in his conversion, nor will he be inclined to consider the hour of his death,[58] imitate the penitential spirit of the saints,[59] and shed those tears of sorrow, contrition and penitence which melt the hardness of the human heart and extinguish the fiery flames.[60]

Nor, because of his sins, should contemporary man consider himself a criminal,[61] accused of grave offenses and begging for pardon,[62] awaiting a vengeful sentence[63] from an eternally just God, which would result in the loss of heaven,[64] and consign him to everlasting death,[65] eternal punishment,[66] and

53. Cf. M203, M381 (*nullis a te tentationibus separemur*) & M70, 575, S. Elisabeth Lusitaniae. Suppressed: M1 (*a mentis defende periculis*); M127 (*ab omnibus liberemur tentationibus*); M157 (*nullis tentationibus vellantur*); M236 (*a tentationibus liberemur*); M278 (*ab hostibus mentis liberemur*); M324 (*nulla possint tentatione mutari*); M484 (*ab omnibus tentationibus emundemur*); M505 (*tentationum pericula superanda*); M533 (*a cunctis nos mentis hostibus tuearis*); M753 (*de malarum tentationibus cogitationum*).

54. Suppressed: M313 (*a pravis cogitationibus mundemur in mente*); M602 (*ab immundis cogitationibus purges*).

55. Suppressed: M708 (*ab omnibus animae periculis*).

56. Suppressed: M837 (*liberemur ab hostibus mentis et corporis*).

57. Cf. M356 (*spiritu compunctionis repleas*) & M70, 178, OB.

58. Cf. M444, (*hora exitus nostri*) & M70, 577; M956 (*hora mortis nostrae*) & M70, 158, 826;

59. Cf. M108 (*poenitentem imitemur*) & M70, 561. Cf. M750 (*poenitentiae ardore*) & M70, 586.

60. Cf. M497 (*ita nos eorum consociari fletibus*), & M70, 529, C, Ss. Septem Fundatorum; M88 (*juges lacrimae inaestimabilibus ornabant margaritis*), & M70, 561 S. Suppressed: M19 (*salutaribus poenitentiae lacrimis dignos accedere*); M289 (*ita Genitricis tuae consociari fletibus*); M366 (*e cordibus nostris lacrimas contritionis elicere valeamus*); M441 (*promissa lugentibus praemia consequamur*); M449 (*da nobis digne flere mala, quae fecimus*); M574 (*nos gemitibus lacrimarum efficiat maculas nostrorum diluere peccatorum*); M600 (*lacrimarum flumina, quibus debita flammarum incendia valeamus extinguere.*); M752 (*educ de cordis nostri duritia lacrimas compunctionis*); M1165 (*lacrimae duritiam nostri cordis emolliant*).

61. Cf. M32 (*ex iniquitate nostra reos nos esse cognoscimus*) & M70, 518, S. Vincentii.

62. Cf. M923 (*non sit nobis reatus ad poenam*) & M70, 880, P. Suppressed: M2 (*a reatibus et periculis absolve*); M158 (*a propriis nos reatibus indesinenter expediat*); M717 (*a reatibus nostris expediat*); M756 (*non noceat conscientiae reatus ad poenam*); M937 (*a nostris reatibus absoluti*); M948 (*reatus nostros*).

63. Suppressed: M721 (*judicialis sententia, judicium ultionis*), M205 (*quod denuntiatum est in ultionem*).

64. Cf. M911 (*ut non amittamus aeterna*) & M70, 356. Suppressed: M621 (*promissa non desperemus aeterna*).

65. Cf. M364 (*perpetuae mortis eripuisti casibus*), & M70, 315.

66. Suppressed: M145 (*suppliciis deputemur aeternis*); M226 (*quod pronuntiatum est ad supplicium*).

the pains of hell[67] and its fire[68] — all of which God so thoughtfully abolished in keeping, one presumes, with the spirit of Vatican II.

Such is our spiritual portrait of contemporary man. While some mildly negative language can be found in the new Missal, with one exception (mistranslated in the official English version),[69] it has been relegated to weekdays (usually during Lent), when contemporary man rarely, if ever, goes to church, or to optional formularies in the back of the Missal.

**2. The Sunday Orations.** For the new Sunday orations, Consilium simply rewrote or abolished texts which contained ideas that contemporary man finds disturbing. Witness first the fate of the old Collect for the Third Sunday after Pentecost, now sanitized for use on the 17th Sunday in Ordinary Time:[70]

> O God, the protector of those who hope in Thee,
> without whom nothing is strong, nothing holy,
> increase Thy mercy towards us;
> that with Thee as ruler and guide,

| Old Text | Revised Text |
|---|---|
| we may so pass through | we may now so use |
| the good things of time | transient things |
| that we may not lose | that we may cling |
| the good things of eternity. | to those things which endure. |

The allusion to the possibility of damnation — the loss of heaven through the misuse of temporal things — has disappeared. In its place is clinging to "things which endure," a vague, though infinitely more positive notion.

Similarly, the revisers moved the old Collect for the Second Sunday after Easter to a weekday and rewrote the ending:[71]

> O God, who in the humility of Thy Son,
> didst raise up the fallen world,
> grant to Thy faithful abiding gladness:
> that whereas Thou hast saved them

67. Cf. M208 (*non poenas inferni sustineat*) & M70, 853, C#2.
68. Suppressed: M600 (*debita flammarum incendia*).
69. M70, 366, C (*ut dimittas quae conscientia metuit*). "forgive our failings." M70, 595, P (*a cunctis malis imminentibus liberemur*), is used only if there is an evening Mass on the Vigil of the Assumption.
70. Cf. M911 (*et sic transeamus per bona temporalia, ut non amittamus aeterna*) & M70, 356, C.
71. Cf. M364 (*a perpetuae mortis eripuisti casibus*) & M70, 315, Hebdomada 4.

| Old Text | Revised Text |
|---|---|
| from the perils | from the slavery |
| of everlasting death, | of sin, |
| Thou mayest bring them | Thou mayest bring them |
| to possess eternal joys. | to possess eternal joys. |

Here they replaced the "perils of everlasting death" — hell again — with the less threatening idea of deliverance from the slavery of sin.

Reminders of human weakness also discourage contemporary man. Hence Consilium edited the Secret for the Eleventh Sunday after Pentecost for use as the Prayer over the Gifts on the 10th Sunday in Ordinary Time:[72]

Graciously look upon our service,
O Lord we beseech Thee:
that the gift we offer may be acceptable to Thee

| Old Text | Revised Text |
|---|---|
| and be to us the | and be to us an |
| support of our weakness. | increase of charity. |

Praying for charity is more positive than alluding to the inclination of our wills to sin.

Human perils are likewise negative, as can be seen by comparing the Postcommunion for the Twenty-Third Sunday after Pentecost with the revised version now employed on the 34th Sunday in Ordinary Time:[73]

We beseech Thee, Almighty God,

| Old Text | Revised Text |
|---|---|
| that Thou suffer us not to | that we who have rejoiced by |
| yield to human dangers, | sharing in things divine, |
| whom Thou hast gladdened | Thou wouldst permit never |
| with a share of things divine | to be separated from Thee. |

The stark contrast between the trials of this life and the joy of divine things has disappeared.

The thoroughly negative content of other Sunday orations posed special problems, as may be seen from the old Collect for the Second Sunday of Lent:

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72. Cf. M981 (*fragilitatis subsidium*) & M70, 349, S. Similarly, M1083 (*infirmitatis auxilium*) & M70, 324, S.
73. Cf. M947 (*humanis non sinas periculis*) & M70, 373, C.

O God, who didst see that we are destitute of strength,
keep us both within and without;
that we may be protected in body from all adversity,
and made pure in mind from every evil thought.[74]

Here, if negative concepts like adversity, evil thoughts and our lack of strength were removed, only punctuation marks would remain. In this case and many others, therefore, Consilium simply suppressed the text altogether.

When the revisers altered or abolished these prayers, they destroyed a tradition far more ancient than the 400-year-old Tridentine Missal. Each example cited above appears in the old Missal's Temporal Cycle, where the texts are between 1100 and 1600 years old. By effacing negative concepts from these orations, Paul VI's Consilium stripped from the Mass a doctrinal inheritance handed down from the patristic era of Saints Augustine and Ambrose.

**3. The Lenten Orations.** The revisers, naturally, were forced to change the entire character of Lent. The traditional Lenten orations relentlessly emphasized fasting and mortifications of the flesh, other ideas contemporary man considers negative (except when he is counting calories). And since Paul VI, spurning a disciplinary practice that goes back virtually to the time of the catacombs, had effectively abolished the Lenten fast in his ironically-named Constitution *Paenitemini* (Do penance),[75] the references to fasting in the ancient Lenten orations were hardly sacrosanct. Emergency surgery was prescribed.

So, in such old orations as were retained in the new Missal, the revisers substituted phrases such as "the works of penance" and "eagerness for penance" where "fasting" formerly appeared.[76] Similarly, where orations once spoke of heroic mortifications of the flesh during Lent, they now speak of "moderation" and "restraint."[77]

Other language in the traditional Lenten orations mentioned spiritual combat, human wickedness, God's anger over our sins, the scourges of His wrath, temporal and eternal punishment, our hidden faults, our guilt,

74. M313, Quad 3, C (*omni nos virtute destitui... a pravis cogitationibus mundemur in mente).*
75. See Apostolic Constitution *Paenitemini*, on Christian penance, 17 February 1966, DOL 3021–30, and SC Council Reply, 24 February 1967, DOL 3031.
76. For examples, see Augé, "Le Collette," 289. The exception is Cin 4.P, M70, 180. Ash Wednesday, of course, is one of the two remaining days of fast now universally prescribed.
77. For examples, see Augé, "Le Collette," 289. The new collect for Quad 1.6, M70, 190, however, speaks of "beginning bodily chastisement," proof that the revisers at least had a sense of humor, given the new Lenten regulations.

appeasement of God, error, the burden of others' sins, our evil deeds or tribulation. These orations were either suppressed or changed.

Even Judas Iscariot no longer merits a negative thought. The prayer on Holy Thursday which mentions that he received a punishment from God for his guilt has been removed.[78]

Ash Wednesday, of course, is liturgical low tide for those sensitive to negative theology. Consilium had actually contemplated abolishing it. Ash Wednesday in the end was retained, but only grudgingly, since its observance was so rooted in the peoples' lives that "it would be difficult to take it away without encountering other inconveniences."[79]

Significant changes were made nevertheless in the prayers for the Blessing of the Ashes. Two of the four prayers have been suppressed (the first probably because it mentions an angel). The remaining two are alternative texts — you may choose either — and both have been butchered. In the first prayer, the petition for the spirit of compunction for sin has been excised and replaced with incongruous talk about celebrating the paschal mystery. In the second prayer, penitence has been replaced by the less-demanding term "conversion," and pardon as the reward of penitence has disappeared, along with humility, the fragility of the human condition, and death as the penalty for our guilt.[80]

In light of these suppressions overall, it thus becomes quite easy to understand what the men who created the New Missal meant by "negative theology": any language that emphasizes the horrible wickedness of sin as the greatest evil, and its dire consequences for us in this world and the next. Contemporary man does not want to hear about such things — and the Missal of Paul VI accommodates him.

## THE CHRISTIAN AND THE WORLD

"Whosoever, therefore, will be the friend of the world," says St. James in his Epistle, "becometh an enemy of God." His sobering teaching is echoed in other scripture passages and in the writings of countless theologians, ascetics and saints throughout the ages.

In the traditional Missal, therefore, many orations to the saints singled out their disdain or contempt for earthly things as something singularly

78. Cf. M200 (*Deus, a quo et Judas reatus sui poenam*) & M70, 243.

79. Carlo Braga CM, "De Anno Liturgico et Calendario Generali Instauratis," EL 83 (1969), 184–5: "servatur ob rationes pastorales; usus enim in anno fidelium nunc tam radicatus est, ut difficile posset amoveri sine aliis incommodis."

80. Cf. M356 (*spiritu compunctionis repleas*), M394 (*fragilitatem conditionis humanae, humilitatis, ob pravitatis nostrae demeritum in pulverem reversuros, praemia poenitentibus repromissa*); & M70, 178–80.

virtuous. Again and again, the phrase *terrena despicere* — to despise the things of this world — recurs as an ideal which a saint achieved and which we hope to obtain.

This particular doctrinal reality the revisers purged in its entirety from the new Missal, which they now called "more positive,"[81] "more respectful in the face of earthly reality."[82]

We can cite three texts to illustrate how Consilium "touched up" the offending language. In the Postcommunion for the Second Sunday of Advent, the texts in both Missals begin with the same phrases,[83] and then head in different directions:

Filled with the food of spiritual nourishment,
we suppliantly entreat Thee, O Lord,
that through our participation in this Mystery,
Thou wouldst teach us

| Old Text | New Text |
|---|---|
| to despise earthly things | to consider wisely earthly things |
| and to love heavenly things. | and cleave to heavenly things. |

The Collect for St. Peter Damien, a fearsome reformer of the clergy and heroic ascetic, received a similar treatment:[84]

Grant, we beseech Thee, O Almighty God,
to follow the admonitions and examples
of blessed Peter, Thy confessor and bishop,

| Old Text | New Text |
|---|---|
| that by a contempt | that putting nothing before Christ |
| of earthly things, | and always intent |
| | on the service of Thy Church |
| we may obtain | we may be led to the |
| everlasting joys. | joys of eternal light. |

Likewise, the Collect honoring St. Cajetan:[85]

O God, who didst bestow upon blessed Cajetan, Thy confessor,
to imitate apostolic life,
grant, we beseech Thee, that by his intercession

81. Braga, "Il 'Proprium,'" 420.
82. Augé, "Le Collette," 296.
83. Cf. M970 (*terrena despicere et amare caelestia*) & M70, 130.
84. Cf. M123 (*per terrestrium rerum contemptum aeterna gaudia consequamur*) & M70, 529.
85. Cf. M277 (*sola caelestia desiderare*) & M70, 588.

and example, we may always trust in Thee, and

| Old Text | New Text |
| --- | --- |
| desire only heavenly things. | eagerly seek Thy kingdom. |

The perspective of the new texts, as can easily be seen, is completely different, more "horizontal," less severe, less supernatural. Man's end is downplayed, and the border between sacred and profane, between heaven and earth, is blurred.

With the exception of the three foregoing texts that were edited, the revisers simply suppressed any of the old orations that disparaged the world. The feasts of four saints whose orations used the phrase *terrena despicere* were abolished,[86] and in the case of nine feasts that were retained in the new Missal, the revisers substituted entirely new orations to replace the "discouraging" language found below:

> ... having tasted the sweetness of Thy most dear Heart, may we learn to despise earthly things and love those of heaven. (*Sacred Heart*)[87]
>
> ... by detaching our hearts from earthly joys, may we merit to enjoy those that are eternal. (*St. Angela Merici*)[88]
>
> ... amidst the blandishments of the world... may thy faithful despise earthly things, and ever aspire to those of heaven. (*St. Casimir*)[89]
>
> O God, who hast promised a hundredfold hereafter... to those who leave all things in this world for Thy sake... may we despise the things of this world and desire only those of heaven. (*St. Paulinus of Nola*)[90]
>
> ... grant that imitating him we may despise the things of this world and ever rejoice in partaking of Thy heavenly gifts. (*St. Francis of Assisi*)[91]
>
> O God, who didst teach blessed Hedwig to renounce the pomps of the world... grant that we may learn to trample under foot the perishable delights of this world... (*St. Hedwig*)[92]
>
> ... as Thou didst give him strength to overcome the enticements of this life, so Thou wouldst enable us... to shun the allurements of the world and come

86. M113, 443, 946, 1052, 1107.
87. Cf. M829 (*discamus terrena despicere, et amare caelestia*) & M70, 379.
88. Cf. M413 (*terrenis omnibus abdicatis*) & M70, 521.
89. Cf. M379 (*inter mundi illecebras... fideles tui terrena despiciant, et ad caelestia semper aspirent*) & M70, 532.
90. Cf. M417 (*omnia pro te in hoc saeculo relinquentibus... valeamus terrena despicere, et sola caelestia desiderare*) & M70, 561.
91. Cf. M331 (*ex ejus imitatione, terrena despicere, et caelestium donorum semper participatione gaudere*) & M70, 621.
92. Cf. M506 (*a saeculi pompa... perituras mundi calcare delicias*) & M70, 625.

to Thee with pure hearts. (*St. Henry*)[93]

Other suppressed orations employed language about putting off the pride and vanity of the world,[94] the peace which the world cannot give,[95] being freed from or lifted above earthly desires,[96] despising transitory things or all worldly things,[97] renouncing worldly ambition,[98] putting aside earthly pleasures,[99] weakening our earthly affections,[100] and disdaining the pleasures of the world.[101]

Thus detachment from the world, preached by theologians and saints for 1900 years, disappears from the orations of the new Missal.

## PRAYERS FOR THE DEPARTED

One of the most striking changes in the post-Conciliar liturgical universe involved the rites and prayers for the dead. White vestments replaced black; *Alleluia* replaced *Requiem aeternam*; and the typical funeral, in America at least, was turned into something akin to a canonization ceremony.

The 1970 Missal contains 114 orations for the dead, of which about 25 came from the old Missal. Any of the retained orations that were insufficiently optimistic, as usual, were then subjected to "touching up" by the revisers, and language referring to forbidden topics vanished.

**1. Perpetual "Lite."** If earthly things can no longer be condemned in the post-Conciliar liturgy, it should come as no surprise to learn that neither can the Christian soul. A comparison, for instance, of the old Collect on the Day of Burial with its revised version[102] reveals that Consilium eliminated the following clauses:

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93. Cf. M348 (*illecebras saeculi superare fecisti... mundi hujus blandimenta vitare*), & M70, 577. This was edited so much it nearly constitutes an entirely new text. Also abolished: M946 (*terrena despicere*), Ss. Cyrilli et Methodii, P; M1068 (*facias terrena despicere, et te solum Deum pura mente sectari*), S. Joannae Franciscae de Chantal, P.

94. M147 (*superbis saeculi vanitatibus exutis*), S. Margaritae Mariae Alacoque, P.

95. M201 (*da servis tuis illam, quam mundus dare non potest pacem*), Pro Pace, C.

96. M908 (*a terrenis cupiditatibus liberati*), Pent 24, S; M259 (*supra terrenas omnes cupititates elevati*), S. Josephi a Cupertino, C.

97. M291, (*terrenum postponere, caduca despicere, atque aeterna sectari*), S. Hermenegildi, C; M303, (*cuncta mundi despicere*), S. Petri Caelestini, C.

98. M593 (*ambitionem saeculi*), Ad Postulandam Humilitatem, S.

99. M709 (*a delectationibus terrenis expediant*), Epip 4, P.

100. M873 (*terrenis affectibus mitigatis*), Quad 4.4, O.

101. M876 (*spretis mundi oblectamentis*), S. Ludovici Regis, S.

102. Cf. M208 (*ut non tradas eam in manus inimici, neque obliviscaris eam in finem, sed jubeas eam a sanctis Angelis suscipi... non poenas inferni sustineat*) & M70, 853, C2.

> that Thou wouldst deliver not his soul
> into the hands of the enemy,
> nor forget him forever,
> but command that he be taken up by Thy holy angels...
> [that] he may not undergo the pains of hell...

Hell, for contemporary man, is not on his list of fundamental options.

The old orations for the dead, moreover, with their emphasis on suffrages for the souls of the departed and on petitions for eternal rest, unambiguously reflected the Church's belief in the existence of purgatory as a place of punishment and purification.

In the new Missal, some key phrases referring to purgatory disappeared. The notion of heaven as a place of "eternal rest," for instance, has been excised in three places where it formerly appeared.[103] It is implicitly negative since part of the punishment of purgatory consists in the "restlessness" which results from intense pain of separation from God.

**2. Lost Souls.** The most shocking aspect of the prayers for the dead in the 1970 Missal is the fate of the word "soul." One of the liturgists involved in revising these prayers, Father Henry Ashworth, wrote an interesting commentary on the new texts in 1970. Perhaps anticipating criticism from conservatives that the new Missal was soft on purgatory, Ashworth claimed:

> The Church's faith in Purgatory is implied in these prayers by phrases which ask that the *soul* of the departed be purified from sin.[104]

All very nice — until you notice that the Latin word for "soul" (*anima*) has for all practical purposes disappeared from the new orations for the dead. In the nine orations used in the New Mass on All Souls' Day, for instance, "soul" does not appear even once, while the traditional Missal uses it in all nine orations. Perhaps November 2 should have been renamed "No Souls Day."

In selecting the orations for the dead in the new Missal, moreover, the revisers dropped 11 of the traditional orations which employed the word "soul"[105] — and of the 25 traditional orations they retained, they purged the

103. Cf. M845 & M70, 855, P; M703 & M70, 857, S; M906 & M70, 862, S.
104. Henry Ashworth OSB, "The Prayers for the Dead in the New Roman Missal," EL 85 (1971), 5. My emphasis.
105. M51, 207, 223, 529, 606, 608, 892, 905, 1097, 1117, & 1119.

word "soul" from 23 of them.[106] Prayers, therefore, are no longer offered "for the *soul* of John Smith," but simply "for John Smith" — another break with ancient tradition, since the old Roman sacramentaries employ the word in their orations for the dead.[107] The omissions were intentional — made, said Ashworth, in order to "lighten" the prayers.[108]

Other than an implicit denial of the Church's teaching on purgatory, and a desire to excise negative concepts, might an entirely new theological principle have been at work? In an article some years ago in *The Wanderer*, Father Paul Trinchard observed:

> A largely unacknowledged and unaddressed fundamental heresy pervades the churches in America. It teaches that we are not composed of body and soul. Each is seen as holistic. It is impossible for your soul or spirit to exist without your body according to this view. According to this fundamental heresy, every individual must exist as spirit, soul and body, (or its equivalent). Thus, souls do not exist separately.[109]

If this heresy — a practical denial of the existence of the soul — is widespread, it can draw no little support from the intentional exclusion of the word "soul" from the orations for the dead in the new Missal.

Thus, contemporary man, having profited by gaining the whole world in one part of the new Missal, now loses his soul in another.

## ACCOMMODATING ECUMENISM

With an eye toward discovering what Braga said is "no longer in harmony with the new positions of the Church,"[110] we turn briefly to changes made for ecumenical reasons.

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106. Cf. M208 & M70, 853; M845 & M70, 855; M210 & M70, 856; M703 & M70, 857; M931 & M70, 858; M233 & M70, 861; M644 & M70, 862; M906 & M70, 862; M5 & M70, 863; M53 & M70, 863; M567 & M70, 864; M620 & M70, 864; M52 & M70, 865; M214 & M70, 867; M654 & M70, 868; M909 & M70, 871; M1120 & M70, 872; M884 & M70, 872; M851 & M70, 879; M407 & M70, 880; M1134 & M70, 881; M106 & M70, 881; M465 & M70, 881. Since the two orations in which it still occurs (Formulary 14, *Super oblata* and *Post communionem*) come at the very end of the orations for the dead in the new Missal, one suspects that the revisers simply forgot to cut out the word *anima*. (Sometimes, like Homer, even Luther nods.) Recasting the two orations without the word *anima*, in any case, would have made it difficult to follow the rules of classical Latin style.

107. See, for example *Sacramentarium Veronese*, EEFL 1115, 1117–20, 1122; *Gelasianum Vetus*, EEFL 1393–5. See also the Supplement to the *Hadrianum Gregorianum*, EEFL 1593, 1596–1600.

108. "Prayers for the Dead," 9.

109. "Liturgical Reflections: All Souls Day," *The Wanderer* (30 October 1986), 2.

110. "Il 'Proprium,'" 419.

**1. Error, Heresy, the True Church.** The notion of acknowledging the one, true God has been deleted from the Collect for St. Cyril of Jerusalem.[111] The Collect for the Propagation of the Faith, now christened (as it were) the Collect for the Evangelization of Peoples, underwent similar revisions:[112]

O God who wouldst have all men to be saved
and come to the knowledge of truth:

| Old Text | New Text |
|---|---|
| Send, we beseech Thee, | Look upon Thy great harvest, |
| laborers into Thy harvest | and graciously send |
| and grant them grace with all | laborers therein, |
| boldness to speak Thy word; | |
| so that Thy word may run | so that the Gospel may be |
| and be glorified, | preached to every creature |
| and all nations | and that Thy people |
| may know Thee, | gathered by the word of life, |
| the only God, and | and strengthened by the |
| Him whom Thou hast sent, | power of the sacraments, |
| Jesus Christ | may advance in the way |
| Thy Son, Our Lord. | of salvation and charity. |

The goal of the missionary's apostolate has been changed: In the old Collect, it was to bring nations to know the only true God and Jesus Christ — the phrase is a quote from Our Lord's discourse in John 17; in the new Collect, it appears to be merely "preaching the Gospel." The means have been turned into an end.

If even petitions to convert men to the one true God — using Our Lord's own words, no less — were deemed too triumphalistic, it is no surprise to learn that the Collect for the Feast of Christ the King was "adapted in its expression to the mentality of contemporary man,"[113] by scrapping the phrase "grant in Thy mercy that all the families of nations, rent asunder by the bond of sin, may be subjected to His most gentle rule."[114] The Church Militant has likewise disappeared from the feasts of Christ the King[115] and St. Ignatius Loyola.[116]

111. Cf. M173 (*te solum verum Deum*) & M70, 534.
112. Cf. M416 (*ut... omnes gentes cognoscant te solum Deum verum*) & M70, 795.
113. Augé, "Le Collette," 296.
114. Cf. M785 (*ut cunctae familiae Gentium, peccati vulnere disgregatae, ejus suavissimo subdantur imperio*) & M70, 380.
115. Cf. M638 (*qui sub Christi Regis vexillis militare gloriamur*) & M70, 381.
116. Cf. M254 (*militantem Ecclesiam roborasti*) & M70, 584.

Needless to say, allusions to the existence of heresy are gone. Our faith is no longer the *true* faith for which St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen was martyred by Swiss Protestants,[117] and it is no longer acceptable to mention that St. Irenaeus "overcame heresy by the truth of his doctrine."[118] The petitions in the orations for St. Robert Bellarmine[119] and St. Peter Canisius[120] (called during the Protestant revolt "the Hammer of Heretics") to bring those in error back to the unity of the Church and to salvation have been dropped, said Braga, as reflections of an age characterized by "intransigence and a spirit of conquest."[121]

Intransigence and a spirit of conquest naturally bring to mind the great pope who promulgated the Tridentine Missal, St. Pius V. His oration has been replaced with one a bit more ecumenical:[122]

| **Old Text** | **New Text** |
|---|---|
| O God, who for the overthrowing | O God, who raised up |
| of the enemies of Thy Church | in Thy Church |
| and for the restoration of the | blessed Pius as Pope, |
| beauty of Thy worship, | to protect the faith |
| didst choose blessed Pius | and render worship |
| as supreme Pontiff; | more worthy, |
| grant that we may be defended | grant by his intercession |
| by his patronage and cleave | that we may share |
| to Thy service, that overcoming | in Thy mysteries |
| the snares of our enemies, | with lively faith |
| we may rejoice | and fruitful charity. |
| in Thy eternal peace. | |

Since the Church, we are assured, no longer has any real enemies, the offending phrases have been dropped — a reflection, one might say, of an age now characterized by dialogue and a spirit of compromise.

Strange things happened to phrases that reflected the Church's teaching on the power and function of the Supreme Pontiff. St. Robert Bellarmine, an eloquent defender of papal infallibility in the face of the Protestant threat, is no longer said to have "repelled the snares of errors and vindicated the rights

117. Cf. M287 (*in verae fidei propagatione... fideles usque ad mortem invenire mereamur*) & M70, 542.
118. Cf. M279 (*et veritate doctrinae expugnaret hereses*) & M70, 568.
119. Cf. M250 (*errantium corda ad Ecclesiae tuae redeant unitatem*) & M70, 612.
120. Cf. M258 (*errantes ad salutem resipiscant*) & M70, 657.
121. "Il 'Proprium,'" 420.
122. Cf. M249 (*ad conterendos Ecclesiae tuae hostes*) & M70, 545.

of the Apostolic See."[123] In two orations for the pope, the notion that he governs the Church[124] has been removed.

**2. Deletions from Ancient Prayers.** Lest it be thought that the revisers were returning to primitive Christian tradition by excising language which condemned the evil of heresy and proclaimed the rights of God and His Church, one has but to consider the Solemn Orations for Good Friday. These prayers, the oldest in the traditional Missal, dated back to the days of the earliest persecutions.[125] In the Gelasian Sacramentary, an eighth century manuscript which is the oldest official compilation of Roman liturgical prayers in existence,[126] the texts of these orations are, save for a few grammatical differences, identical to those found in the traditional Missal.[127]

Comparing these texts with their counterparts in the Missal of Paul VI reveals:

• In the Oration for the Church, the revisers omitted the petition that principalities and powers be subjected to the Church,[128] an "anachronism," said Bugnini, when it comes to the temporal role of the Church.[129]

• The revisers abolished the following Oration for Heretics and Schismatics:

> Let us pray for heretics and schismatics,
> that our God and Lord would deliver them from all their errors;
> and vouschafe to recall them to our holy mother
> the Catholic and apostolic Church.
>
> O Almighty and eternal God, who savest all,
> and willest not that anyone should perish:
> look down on the souls of those deceived by the wiles of the devil:
> that the evil of heresy being removed from their hearts
> the erring may repent and return to the unity of Thy truth.

The doctrinal concepts that this text expresses repudiates several fundamental presuppositions of the modernist theological system. It places heretics and schismatics outside the Church, implies that error leads to hell, mentions the existence of the devil, characterizes heresy as evil and locates heretics outside

123. Cf. M250 (*ad errorem insidias repellendas et Apostolicae Sedis jura propugnanda*) & M70, 612.
124. Cf. M731 (*praeesse*) & M70, 776, S; M1153 (*regimini*) & M70, 780, S.
125. Jungmann, *Early Liturgy*, 61.
126. Lancelot C. Sheppard, *The Liturgical Books*, Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism, vol. 109 (New York: Hawthorn 1962), 16–7.
127. Cf. EEFL 1315–32 with any missal printed before the 1955 changes in the Holy Week rites.
128. Cf. M780 (*subjiciens ei principatus et potestates*) & M70, 252.
129. RL, 127.

"the unity of Thy truth." It's the ecumenical equivalent of a four-alarm fire. In its place the revisers substituted a vague oration for the Unity of Christians.[130]

• The Oration for the Jews no longer speaks of their "faithlessness," their "blindness" and the "veil" over their hearts in refusing to acknowledge Christ. The Oration now asks God that the Jews increase in faithfulness to their covenant "and come to the fullness of redemption" — instead of praying, as formerly, for their conversion.[131]

• The Oration for the Pagans is now called "For Those Who Do Not Believe in Christ." It no longer prays for their conversion either.[132]

The ancient prayers were changed, said Bugnini in his memoirs, because they "sounded rather bad" in the ecumenical climate of Vatican II, and because "no one should find a motive for spiritual discomfort in the prayer of the Church"[133] — no one, perhaps, but those who still believe in praying that the world be converted to the truth of the Catholic faith.

## THE MERITS OF THE SAINTS

While we on earth can merit graces for others through our prayers and good works, the Church also teaches that the merits of the saints in heaven are far more powerful in obtaining for us the graces and blessings we need. Hence, on at least 200 occasions throughout the course of the liturgical year, the traditional orations invoke the merits of the saints.[134] Typically, an oration will ask God for something through "the assistance of their merits," their "merits and prayers," "merits and intercession" or "merits and example."

In the orations of Paul VI's Missal, the merits of the saints followed the soul into virtual oblivion. In 30 instances,[135] the revisers substituted different orations for the old ones that mentioned merits. In 21 other orations to the

130. Cf. M799 (*eruat eos ab erroribus universis... neminem vis perire: respice ad animas diabolica fraude deceptas; ut omni haeretica pravitate deposita, errantium corda resipiscant, et ad veritatis tuae redeant unitatem*) & M70, 254.

131. Cf. M778 (*Oremus et pro perfidis Judaeis... auferat velamen de cordibus eorum; ut et ipsi agnoscant Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum... preces quas pro illius populi obcaecatione deferimus...*) & M70, 254. Some of the phrases had already been removed by John XXIII.

132. Cf. M790 & M70, 254–5.

133. RL, 127.

134. About 160 times in the Propers and during Octaves and about 40 times in the Commons. I arrived at the figure by using the *index verborum* in volume 1 of Bruylants and by taking into account the repetitions of certain texts which occur throughout the year.

135. Cf. M651.1 & M70, 516; M413 & M70, 521; M262 & M70, 528; M295 & M70, 533; M333 & M70, 540; M401 & M70, 542; M540 & M70, 547; M330 & M70, 588; M401 & M70, 559; M112 & M70, 575; M651.1 & M70, 576; M13.1 & M70, 582; M293 & M70, 598; M290 & M70, 606; M523.1 & M70, 608; M228 & M70, 611; M740 & M70, 611; M398 & M70, 613; M916.1 & M70, 614; M300 & M70, 617; M331 & M70, 621; M523 & M70, 621; M1030 & M70, 622; M269 & M70, 625; M506 & M70, 625; M1081 & M70, 629; M1036 & M70, 638; M1015 & M70, 646; M370 & M70, 647.

saints that they retained, the revisers excised the word "merit,"[136] and only 3 of the 13 orations where it still occurs in the new Missal are obligatory.[137]

Why virtually abolish the notion of the merits of the saints? One explanation may be the modern (and modernist) tendency to deny any real distinction between the natural and the supernatural orders, to present religion as something fundamentally horizontal. One of the revisers' complaints about the old orations for the saints was that they were "too abstract," incapable of presenting an achievable ideal of sanctity for contemporary man.

The new Collect in honor of St. Gertrude the Great, which spurred my interest in examining new orations in the first place, is a typical result. Both the old and new versions in Latin begin with the same phrase: "O God, who didst prepare for thyself a pleasant home in the heart of the holy virgin Gertrude..." But the remainder of the prayer has been reoriented:[138]

| Old Text | New Text |
|---|---|
| by her | by her |
| merits and | |
| intercession | intercession |
| do Thou mercifully | do Thou mercifully |
| wash away from | enlighten |
| our hearts the stains [of sin] | the darkness of our hearts |
| and grant that may we rejoice | that we may joyfully |
| [with her] | experience Thee working |
| in [heavenly] fellowship. | and present within us. |

The whole perspective of the prayer was altered: "enlightenment" and "joy" are part of contemporary man's experience; merits, the stains of sin, and heavenly fellowship are not, so the concepts disappear.

Another motive for doing away with merit, no doubt, was ecumenism. While the Church teaches that we can merit for ourselves and others, classical Protestantism held that human nature was so corrupt that it could not merit anything. Abolish the word in the orations for the saints, and another ecumenical roadblock disappears.

## THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MIRACLES

Miracles, as theologians such as St. Robert Bellarmine have noted, are so

136. Cf. M246 & M70, 518; M510 & M70, 310; M376.1 & M70, 527; M238 & M70, 528; M433.1 & M70, 540; M287 & M70, 542; M97 & M70, 553; M300 & M70, 558; M697 & M70, 579; M282 & M70, 585; M17 & M70, 590; M296 & M70, 602; M250 & M70, 612; M361 & M70, 642; M194 & M70, 657; M1084 & M70, 712; M374 & M70, 715; M695 & M70, 718; M114 & M70, 719; M13 & M70, 722; M478 & M70, 724.

137. S. Aloisii Gonzaga, C; S. Dominici, C, and S. Teresiae a Jesu Infante, S.

138. Cf. M361 (*meritis, cordis nostri maculas absterge*) & M70, 642.

interwoven with the Catholic religion, that it is impossible to separate them from it. The existence of the Church, rendered illustrious by the miraculous lives of the saints, is a perpetual witness for the reality of miracles.[139]

Some of the traditional orations, such as those honoring St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen and St. Augustine of Canterbury, simply mention the fact that these saints worked miracles. Other orations allude to specific miracles: that St. Raymond of Pennafort walked on water, that the soul of St. Scholastica ascended to heaven in the form of a dove; that the fire of love in the heart of St. John of God was so great that, in rescuing the sick from a burning building, he emerged unscathed, or that St. Frances of Rome carried on conversations with her Guardian Angel.

The miracles, needless to say, have all been suppressed, to make the prayers better suited, said Braga, "to the mentality of contemporary man." Expressions of the marvelous or the miraculous are "characteristic of a certain hagiography of the past."[140]

Such considerations may have prompted the abolition of the old oration for St. Nicholas:[141]

> O God, who hast adorned the blessed Bishop Nicholas
> with numberless miracles:
> grant, we beseech Thee,
> that by his merits and prayers
> we may be saved from the fires of hell.

Merits or the fires of hell, however, could just as easily have been the culprits.

If the saints are "demythologized," why not the Queen of All Saints? The oration for the feast of Our Lady of Lourdes no longer mentions her apparition,[142] but then the new orations for the Feast of the Our Lady of the Rosary no longer bother to mention her Rosary either.[143]

And finally, not even orations which recounted the miraculous in Our Lord's life were safe from the rationalists: God's voice no longer speaks from the cloud on the Feast of the Transfiguration,[144] and Christ's miracle of the raising of Lazarus has been buried forever.[145]

None of this, of course, will surprise anyone who has taken a Scripture

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139. John T. Driscoll, "Miracles," CE 10:346.
140. "Il 'Proprium.'" 405.
141. Cf. M229 (*innumeris decorasti miraculis... meritis... a gehennae incendiis liberemur*) & M70, 648.
142. Cf. M427 & M70, 528.
143. Cf. M222, 553, 1051 & M70, 622–3.
144. Cf. M341 (*voce delapsa in nube lucida*) & M70, 587.
145. Cf. M68 (*quatriduanum fratrem Lazarum vivum ab inferis resuscitasti*) & M70, 579.

course in a seminary or a (nominally) Catholic university in this post-Vatican II era. Modernist scripture scholars — is there now any other kind? — routinely treat the miracles recounted in the Bible, even those performed by Our Lord, as impossible, improbable, unknowable, myths, fables, mere natural events, "faith reflections," and generally, as devoid of historical truth. While the modernists who created the Mass of Paul VI could not make the miraculous disappear from the Scripture readings, they could and did expunge it from the orations, thus foisting their rationalist skepticism on the unsuspecting layman who retained his devotion to Our Lord, Our Lady and the saints.

## THE CONSEQUENCES

Comparing the texts of the new orations with the old orations, then, yields a lengthy list of the Catholic doctrines that the revisers either obliterated or left to fade Cheshire Cat-like into the background: Hell, judgement, God's wrath, punishment for sin, the wickedness of sin as the greatest evil, detachment from the world, the souls of the departed, Christ's kingship on earth, the Church Militant, the triumph of the Catholic faith, the evils of heresy, schism and error, the conversion of non-Catholics, the merits of the saints, and miracles.

The list reads like a syllabus of Catholic doctrines and practices rejected by modernists, Protestants and rationalists. And many of these teachings, as the Society of St. Pius X study of the liturgical reform very perceptively pointed out, are linked to the teaching that the Mass is a sacrifice of *propitiation* for sin,[146] a doctrine that Protestants and modernists alike reject.

To shrug off all the changes in the orations as mere style or emphasis, therefore, is to ignore the evidence. The revisers said quite openly that they were altering "doctrinal realities."

And this has grave consequences. Mgr. A.G. Martimort, one of Consilium's experts, stated that the orations of the Missal, taken as a whole, constitute the single most important liturgical *locus theologicus* (source for demonstrating theological truths) because they "interpret the shared faith of the assembly."[147]

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146. *Problem of the Liturgical Reform*, 27–33. Hence, the authors argue, the notions of *sorrow* for sin and the need to make *satisfaction* for it have been either been suppressed or diminished. "Thus, the propitiatory dimension has, as it were, disappeared from the new missal." This they view as the logical consequence for the new teaching that the Mass is first a memorial rather than a sacrifice; "thanksgiving," then, replaces propitiation.

147. Aimé Georges Martimort, "Structure and Laws of Liturgical Celebration," in Irénée Henri Dalmais, etc., *Principles of the Liturgy*, tr. by Matthew J. O'Connell, The Church at Prayer, vol. 1, edited by A.G. Martimort, new edition (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 1986), 159.

It was not surprising, therefore, to learn that already in the early 1970s, theologians used the disappearance of certain phrases and concepts from the new Missal to attack teachings which are part of the deposit of the faith.[148] Armed with the evidence of how the Missal of Paul VI itself changed the doctrinal content of the orations, it becomes a small matter for the modernist theologian to undercut further the Church's teaching on such matters as sin, hell, the true Church and the soul — and all the while claim with a straight face that he, too, is loyal to the Magisterium.

Then there is the man in the pew. The contents of the new Missal, Braga said in 1970, "will have a transforming effect on catechesis."[149] And indeed it has, particularly since modernists, thanks to Jungmann's pastoral care theory, view public worship as a classroom for animating the celebrating assembly.

In this context, it is difficult for the layman to see how hell, fasting, detachment, or the soul should matter to him, since they no longer figure in his weekly worship. And if he no longer believes in (or is even aware of) these and other fundamental points of the teaching of the Church, it is in large part due to the mutilation of Catholic doctrine in the orations of the Missal of Paul VI.

## SUMMARY

• The bulk of the contents of the traditional Missal and the Missal of Paul VI consists of short prayers called *orations*.

• The older orations in the Temporal Cycle of the traditional Missal are recited in a sequence that has been followed since at least the sixth century.

• Although Vatican II did not specifically prescribe a revision of the content or the liturgical order of the orations, Consilium undertook a total revision of both.

• As a result, only 36% of the orations in the traditional Missal were incorporated into the Missal of Paul VI. Of these, over *half* were altered by the revisers. Thus only 17% of the orations from the old Missal survived untouched in the Missal of Paul VI.

• The revisers changed not merely the *style* of the orations, but their *doctrinal content* as well. Henceforth, they said, these would reflect new views of human values, ecumenical requirements, new positions of the Church, a new foundation of eucharistic theology, a new doctrinal reality, new values and new perspectives. A comparison of the old orations and those in the Missal of Paul VI reveal that this affected five areas in particular:

148. The existence of angels and devils, for instance. For a discussion, see Paul M. Quay SJ, "Angels and Demons in the New 'Missale Romanum,'" EL 94 (1980), 401–10.
149. "Il Nuovo," 274.

• *Negative Theology.* The revisers systematically eliminated from the orations various doctrinal concepts at variance with modernist theology. Examples: the depravity of sin, sin as gravely offending the divine majesty, perdition, divine wrath, the burden of evil, chastisements in this life for sin, our weak will, concupiscence, our pride, our unworthiness, compunction, the loss of heaven, eternal punishment, the pains of hell, the fire of hell, fasting, mortifications and death as the penalty for our guilt.

• *The Christian and the World.* The revisers removed from the orations the standard formulations of the eternal conflict between the Christian and the spirit of the world: despise the things of this world, detachment, perishable delights, the pride and vanity of the world, the peace which the world cannot give, renouncing earthly ambition, etc.

• *Prayers for the Dead.* From these the revisers excised not only the elements of "negative" theology mentioned above, but also the word *soul.*

• *Ecumenism.* With a view towards accommodating heretics, schismatics, pagans and Jews, the revisers eliminated from the orations notions such as the one true God, subjection to the rule of Christ the King, the Church Militant, the *true* faith, overcoming heresy, and phrases which reflected the rights and governing power of the Roman Pontiff. The revisers even changed the most ancient prayers in the liturgy, the Solemn Orations for Good Friday. From these, they eliminated the notion that civil rulers must follow Christ's teaching, that heretics and schismatics are outside the Church, that error leads to hell, that heresy is evil, that Jews are faithless and blinded to the truth, and that pagans need to be converted.

• *Merits of the Saints.* On at least 200 occasions throughout the liturgical year, the orations in the traditional Missal invoke the *merits* of the saints. The revisers virtually eliminated this notion from the new Missal, where it appears in just 13 prayers, of which only 3 are obligatory.

• *Miracles.* To make the orations "better suited to the mentality of contemporary man," the revisers removed allusions to the miracles of the saints, and even to Our Lord's Transfiguration and His raising of Lazarus from the dead. This was a surrender to the modernist heresy, which treats miracles as myths and fables.

• The collective effect of the changes in the orations is to destroy Catholic doctrine by eliminating it from the liturgy, and thus from the consciousness of the clergy and faithful.

Chapter 10

# The Liturgy of the Word: Adroit Choices, Gigantic Voices

IN HIS DEVASTATING and witty critique of modern Catholic worship, church musician Thomas Day observed that, where once Catholics were left room to pursue their own thoughts and prayers at Sunday Mass, they are now relentlessly bombarded with an electronically-amplified "Gigantic Voice," eager to impart "information." The typical liturgical pattern, he says:

> is talk, talk, talk — quick, thrash the congregation with a peppy Alleluia which lasts fifteen seconds; talk, talk, talk — quick, thrash the congregation with an Amen; talk, talk, talk, etc... A Catholic who tries to listen to every syllable of the Mass — this is what some experts demand — will be driven insane by the cascade of "information" and have to be taken out of the church in a straightjacket.[1]

As an organist who played in churches during the late 60s and early 70s, I can attest from experience that this was the common fare in most parish churches then. It probably still is.

This strange phenomenon in the New Mass is but the logical conclusion of Jungmann's pastoral liturgy (Mass-as-classroom) theory. Welcome, Gigantic Voice...

The old liturgy, to be sure, formed men in the truths of their faith. But religious formation was merely a by-product of the *real* object of the Mass: to glorify the Most Blessed Trinity and to offer God a sacrifice of propitiation for sin. If in the course of achieving this primary purpose, the Mass catechized men, well and good. But the Mass accomplished its primary purpose — was "effective" — whether or not religious instruction was proffered, received and taken to heart.

The Mass of Paul VI transformed religious instruction into an end in itself. The Mass must now serve as a sort of classroom to provide religious catechesis directly and immediately to the celebrating assembly. The Gigantic Voice will impart information and teach you your lessons — and the process of instruction will occur above all in the second section of the New Mass: the Liturgy of the Word.

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1. *Why Catholics Can't Sing,* 112–3.

The centerpiece of the Liturgy of the Word is a new cycle of Scripture readings — a dizzying variety of them, more than ever before, all arranged for our instruction and proclaimed over the course of three years. "This is meant," said Paul VI when he promulgated the New Mass, "to provide a fuller exposition of the continuing process of the mystery of salvation in the words of divine revelation." On Sundays and Holydays, therefore, the readings will set before the faithful "the most important part of sacred Scripture." The faithful will thus come to regard Scripture as "the abiding source of the spiritual life, the foundation of Christian instruction and the core of all theological study."[2]

Surrounding these readings, moreover, is a newly created rite, each element of which is designed to reinforce the instruction to be received. All this, moreover — new readings and rites together — will henceforth be conducted in a language we can understand completely, so that we will not miss one dollop of the proffered instruction, and thus assimilate all the doctrinal riches of God's word.

Or so the theory goes. But once again, the reformers promised one thing and delivered another.

First, human beings have a very limited capacity for absorbing vast quantities of information. The creators of the Liturgy of the Word ignored this fundamental truth when they put together a three-year cycle of Scripture readings for the New Mass. In most cases, you now hear a particular biblical text only once every three years. Since repetition is the key to learning anything, the scriptural overkill diminishes by a third the chances that the average layman will retain anything he hears. The wisdom of the old arrangement lay in its repetition of the same texts — and the repetition, after a while, allowed them to become part of you.

Second, while the reformers promised a fuller exposition of the Scriptural message, and while thousands of Scripture passages have indeed been laid out for our instruction, certain New Testament passages, strange to say, are now optional or missing altogether. And — extremely strange to say — the themes expressed in these passages happen to coincide with some of the same themes we saw the revisers declare unsuitable for the new orations.

In formulating the new selection of Scripture readings, did the revisers decide perhaps that "new values and new perspectives" dictated de-emphasizing certain New Testament teachings? To have employed Scripture so selectively, of course, would have put the revisers in the company of an earlier generation of would-be liturgical reformers, Protestant heretics, who, as Dom Guéranger said, used Scriptural texts in the liturgy:

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2. Constitution *Missale Romanum*, DOL 1362.

> negatively, by passing over in silence, through an adroit choice, texts which express doctrines opposed to the errors they want to prevail; [and] positively, by bringing to light mutilated passages which show only one side of the truth, while concealing the other from the eyes of the crowd.[3]

But we are getting ahead of our story. Before turning to the new Scripture readings and their content, we must first look at the liturgical framework that surrounds them.

In this chapter, we will examine the following topics: (1) The new physical orientation for the Liturgy of the Word, and the personnel who now conduct it. (2) The new structure for the Liturgy of the Word overall, and its component parts. (3) The Lectionary (cycle of Scripture readings) for the traditional Mass. (4) Vatican II and the Scripture readings. (5) How the Lectionary for the Missal of Paul VI was created. (6) General features of the new Lectionary. (7) How the revisers omitted, made optional or moved to weekdays New Testament passages that undermined the presuppositions of ecumenism and modernist theology. (8) An analysis.

## NEW DIRECTION AND PERSONNEL

As with the Introductory Rites, a new objective for the second section of the Mass required a change in its physical orientation. In the old rite, the Scripture readings were treated as a sacramental, and were proclaimed facing the altar ("liturgical East"), or, in the case of the Gospel, perpendicular to it ("liturgical North") — a direction, in other words, unrelated to where the congregation was located.

Obviously, if you adopt the idea that the Mass is a classroom, this is bad pedagogy. (How can you effectively impart information to your students if you face the blackboard all the time?) The entire Liturgy of the Word, therefore, must be celebrated facing the congregation.

This about-face was accompanied by a change of personnel. The old rite for the Scripture readings was hierarchical; only priests or those preparing to be priests performed it. Everything about the rite, moreover, reflected in some way the priest's unique position as the sole person at Mass acting "in the person of Christ." At Low Mass, the priest proclaimed all the texts himself. At Solemn High Mass, the deacon and subdeacon performed a whole series of ritual acts which expressed respect for the priest's office as Christ's representative — the ministers bowed to the priest, knelt before him, asked him for blessings, incensed him, offered him the Gospel book to venerate, kissed his hand, turned pages for him, pointed out texts for him to read, and even lifted the hem of his alb when he ascended the altar steps.

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3. IL 1:398.

In the Liturgy of the Word, this ritual link between the solemn proclamation of God's word and the sacrificing priesthood has now been severed. The new rite is non-hierarchical, democratic and centered on the laity — the assembly now celebrates the Mass. In the form that the new legislation presents as ideal, a string of lectors, lectresses, commentators, cantors and part-time deacons conduct the Liturgy of the Word. It has become what American liturgist Ralph Kiefer approvingly calls "the action of a deliberative assembly, its secular analogue being, for example, the formal meeting of the Senate."[4]

The most prominent part in the Liturgy of the Word now falls to the lector or reader, a layman who proclaims the Scripture readings and leads most of the other prayers, a function he is supposed to exercise even though members of the clergy be present.[5] The new legislation does not even require formal installation for this function; any qualified member of the laity may proclaim the Scripture readings, even a woman.[6]

The latter phenomenon — a woman functioning as, in effect, a liturgical minister at Mass, and proclaiming a scripture reading to a mixed congregation — overthrows two millennia of the Church's tradition. It is now viewed as not only permissible, but as an ideal to be implemented even at Midnight Masses in St. Peter's Basilica[7] — a point on which the fearsome Ms. Gauleiter, Director of Worship at Father Chuck's parish, likes to lecture young Father Retreaux.

The priest's services are now required only for the Homily (though a deacon may replace him even there) and for the introduction and conclusion to the Prayer of the Faithful. His duties have been handed to others, the marks of respect abolished. Christ's erstwhile representative now blends silently into the upholstery of his presidential chair.

Stripping the priest of his duties and turning him into a silent spectator undercuts the Catholic teaching that Christ offers the Mass, and that His priests, who possess the power of performing actions in virtue of Christ's very Person, represent Him.

## THE RESTRUCTURED RITE

The liturgical landscape surrounding the readings likewise underwent substantial changes. On Sundays and Holydays, the structure of the Liturgy

4. *To Hear and Proclaim: Introduction, Lectionary for Mass with Commentary for Musicians and Priests* (Washington: National Association of Pastoral Musicians 1983), 65.
5. GI 69 §66, DOL 1456.
6. GI 69 §70, DOL 1460.
7. For a description of the phenomenon, see Anthony Cekada, "Ratzinger, Reverence and the Epistle Babe," Quidlibet (26 December 2007), at http://www.traditionalmass.org/blog/2007/12/26/ratzinger-reverence-and-the-epistle-babe/.

of the Word *vis-à-vis* the old rite is as follows:

| **Traditional Mass** | **New Mass** |
|---|---|
| | Option for Commentary on Readings |
| Epistle | First Reading (Old Testament) |
| Gradual | Responsorial Psalm |
| | Second Reading (Epistle) |
| Alleluia or Tract | "Gospel Acclamation" |
| [Sequence] | [Sequence] |
| *Munda Cor* | *Munda Cor* [or *Dominus Sit*] |
| *Dominus Sit* | |
| Gospel | Gospel |
| Announcements | |
| Vernacular Epistle | |
| Vernacular Gospel | |
| Sermon | Homily |
| Nicene Creed | Nicene or Apostles' Creed |
| | Prayer of the Faithful. |

Two short texts follow the Epistle at the traditional Mass: the Gradual (two verses from the psalms) and the Alleluia (one verse, usually taken from the psalms, preceded and followed by an Alleluia).[8] In Lent, the Tract (several verses from the psalms) replaces the Alleluia. For four feasts, three Octaves and Requiem Masses, the old Missal adds a hymn called the Sequence — a meditation that expands upon the themes of the day's Mass.

**1. Introductory Comments.** The first element in the Liturgy of the Word is optional: Before the Scripture readings are proclaimed, a few comments may be offered to "introduce" the readings.[9] This is the third occasion in the New Mass so far — the other two occurred before the Penitential Rite and before the body of the Opening Prayer respectively — where the Gigantic Voice can interrupt the rite in order to impart information about the *rest* of the information it will impart ten seconds later. This is another deregulated area of the New Mass; no official text is provided.

So, to the delight of priests like Father Chuck and the annoyance of priests like Father Retreaux, here is another place to pick up that wireless mike and improvise a casual comment or two.

8. What is designated as the Epistle in the old Missal is sometimes in fact a reading from the Old Testament. On a few occasions during the liturgical year, moreover, the old Missal prescribes additional Old Testament readings before the Epistle.

9. *Eucharistiae Participationem* §14, DOL 1988.

**2. The Intervening Chants.** The Graduals, the Alleluias and the Tracts in the old Missal were unsuitable for the type of instructional rite the revisers had in mind. The full musical settings of the old texts are so elaborate and splendid that even in monasteries their performance was entrusted only to a select group of singers. Congregational participation in these chants was clearly impossible. The revisers consigned them to oblivion in an obscure chant book (the revised *Graduale Romanum*), and substituted something which would better heighten the congregation's learning experience.

To replace the Gradual after the first reading, the revisers created the Responsorial Psalm — a number of verses from a psalm (usually at least four) recited by a lector or sung by a cantor and interspersed with an acclamation repeated several times by the congregation. The Second Reading is followed by the Gospel Acclamation, a psalm verse preceded and followed by an Alleluia or another congregational acclamation.

Here, Consilium pulled off the truly spectacular feat of simultaneously setting aside Vatican II, liturgical tradition, artistic principles and the notion of universality in the Church's prayer.

First, although Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy prescribed that "new forms adopted should in some way grow organically from forms already existing,"[10] the Responsorial Psalm, in the form contained in the New Mass, simply did not exist in the Roman Rite.[11]

Second, a long and venerable tradition lay behind the traditional Missal's existing selection and arrangement of chants for the older observances of the liturgical year — the Graduals for the Sundays after Pentecost, for instance, are identical to those found in an eighth-century manuscript.[12] Appeals to Christian antiquity in order to justify an innovation like the Responsorial Psalm, however, yield evidence which is inconclusive at best: while some scholars like Jungmann believed that congregational participation at this point in the Mass was the primitive Church's practice,[13] others like Archdale King indicate that the original method of chanting the psalm after the Scripture reading was to have a cantor sing straight through without any response at all from the people.[14] Whatever the case may have been — and these liturgists didn't know for sure — the chants between the readings became very ornate early on in the Church's history and their performance was entrusted

10. SC §23, DOL 23.

11. The verse/response format in the Hymn of Daniel (Dan 3:52–6), employed in the old rite after the last reading on Ember Days, originates not with the compilers of the old Missal, but rather with the scriptural text itself.

12. LRC, 251.

13. See MRR 1:421ff.

14. LRC, 252.

to a trained soloist. If congregational participation had been the primitive practice, it died out very soon.

Third, the revisers insisted that the Responsorial Psalm and the Gospel Acclamation be congregational songs. Now, it is virtually impossible to compose music which combines true artistic excellence and singability for a non-musician, particularly with texts as short as those which the new Lectionary lays down as congregational refrains. Liturgical composers, therefore, were forced to create musical settings that remain on the level of the lowest common denominator. The result is debased music that rarely rises above the artistic level of a ditty composed for a toothpaste commercial.[15]

Fourth, while Consilium provided a great array of texts for the Responsorial Psalm and the Gospel Acclamation, they permitted multiple options. National bishops' conferences may substitute another seasonal text for the Responsorial Psalm or abolish it altogether. Any one of several dozen texts may be selected for the Gospel Acclamation, and it may be dropped if it is not sung. The notion of an even superficial universality in the Church's prayer for the chants between the readings thus falls victim to legislated liturgical anarchy.

**3. The Sequences.** Since the splendid liturgical poems known as Sequences were lengthy and hard to adapt as congregational songs, their use was curtailed. (There is no sense in interrupting the process of instructing the congregation if the people can't participate.) A Sequence is required now on only two days — the *Victimae Paschali Laudes* on Easter and the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* on Pentecost.[16] The *Lauda Sion*, St. Thomas Aquinas's magnificent poetic résumé of Catholic eucharistic doctrine, is now optional on the Feast of Corpus Christi, as is Jacopone da Todi's *Stabat Mater* on the Feast of Our Lady of Sorrows. The revisers removed from the Mass entirely Thomas of Celano's *Dies Irae*, formerly chanted at Requiem Masses as a sobering reminder of the Last Judgement; it is considered "by consent of all, the highest ornament of sacred poetry and the most precious jewel of the Latin Church."[17] The theme of the hymn is announced in the opening verses:

> Day of wrath, O Day of mourning,
> See fulfilled the Prophet's warning,
> Heav'n and earth in ashes burning.

15. Or for a pancake house. In the 1970s I noticed that the musical jingle printed on napkins in Golden Bear Restaurants in Illinois resembled a Responsorial Psalm I had accompanied several years before. Did Deiss or Gelineau ever live in Chicago?

16. GI 69 §40, DOL 1430.

17. Daniel, *Thesauarus Hymnologicus*, 2:103, quoted in TM, 278.

O what fear man's bosom rendeth,
When from heav'n the Judge descendeth,
On whose sentence all dependeth.

No amount of editing could render "more positive" the doom-laden hammer strokes of those terrifying lines.

**4. Prayer before the Gospel.** In the traditional rite, the priest at Low Mass or the Deacon at Solemn Mass says the following prayer:

Cleanse my heart and my lips, O God Almighty,
[Who didst cleanse the lips of the prophet Isaias with a burning coal:
Vouchsafe of thy gracious mercy so to cleanse me,]
that I may worthily proclaim thy holy Gospel.
[Through Christ our Lord. Amen.]

In the new rite, the prayer is only recited by the priest if there is no deacon present, and the passages in brackets have been dropped. Based on what we have learned about the revisers' mindset so far, we can conclude that the burning coal was dropped because of excessively "negative" connotations — am I so impure, sinful and unworthy, and is God is so holy, that my lips have to be purified by *fire*?[18]

Both rites retain the same blessing prayer that the priest pronounces over the deacon before the Gospel.[19]

**5. The Creed.** In both the old and the new rites, the Nicene Creed follows the Sermon (or Homily). The text originated with the Councils of Nicea (325) and Constantinople (381) as a brief summary of Catholic doctrine and as a public profession of faith. Its liturgical use only came later. In certain countries where heresy was prevalent, the Creed was later incorporated into the Mass as an antidote to error. The pope introduced it into the Mass in Rome only in the early eleventh century.[20]

In the New Mass, the Nicene Creed is now recited only on Sundays and a mere 12 Solemnities.[21] Thus, not even the Apostles — who, after all, *died* for

18. The allusion to Isaias found in the traditional prayer, moreover, would run afoul of modernist Scriptural exegesis by implying that (a) a historical person named Isaias actually existed, (b) the incident with a burning coal was a historical event, not mere "faith reflection," and (c) a real angel (a pure spiritual being) was involved, not just the Old Testament equivalent of a bike messenger.
19. "May the Lord be in thy heart and on thy lips, that thou mayest worthily and in a becoming manner announce his holy Gospel. Amen."
20. TM, 285–8
21. GI 69 §44, DOL 1434.

the truths the Creed professes — are honored with a Creed on their feasts.

Later legislation reduced even the Nicene Creed to an "option," and allowed the Apostles' Creed to be recited in its stead.[22] There is no precedent in the Roman Mass for this.

The reformers decreed, moreover, that the recitation or chanting of the Nicene Creed henceforth belonged to the congregation.[23] This swept away tens of thousands of polyphonic musical settings of the Creed composed from the sixteenth century onwards. They are simply gone. And as for musical settings of the Apostles' Creed, there are none.

**6. The Prayer of the Faithful.** In the 1940s and 1950s the Liturgical Movement proposed introducing into the Mass at this point a "Prayer of the Faithful" or "Universal Prayer" — a series of petitions offered for the needs of the Church, public authorities and the local congregation. Inevitably, Vatican II approved the idea, and the Council ordered that a Prayer of the Faithful be employed henceforth on all Sundays and holydays of obligation.[24]

The oldest form for the Prayer of the Faithful was a type used in Rome in ancient times. It consisted of a series of Collects — the ones the traditional Missal still prescribes for the Mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday — and its text never varied.[25]

Probably because this ancient text was invariable and filled with petitions that were somewhat less than ecumenical, Consilium decided instead to make the Prayer of the Faithful a litany whose contents would be subject to change. Its final form, therefore, consisted of: (1) a short introduction, (2) a litany–like series of petitions with a congregational response, such as "Lord hear our prayer," and (3) a brief concluding collect.

Consilium Study Group 12 was given the task of drafting some model texts in Latin that would then be sent to the national bishops' conferences for translation. These in turn would serve as the basis for new texts which the bishops' conferences would formulate themselves. Before the models could be sent out, however, Consilium was required to submit them to the Sacred Congregation of Rites for revisions. When in the fall of 1965 the revised texts came back from the Congregation, the chairman of the Study Group, Father A.M. Rouget, wrote an indignant letter of protest to Bugnini, denouncing the outrageous liberties that the Congregation of Rites had taken with the prayers:

22. See *Missale Romanum...Pauli VI* (2002), 513.
23. GI 69 §44, DOL 1434.
24. SC §53, DOL 53.
25. Theodore Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy* (London: Oxford University Press 1969), 47–50.

> The editor took the liberty of Christianizing, of spiritualizing and of supernaturalizing all the petitions.... I would need whole pages to set forth all the cases where the intentions we prepared for these prayers were completely changed — and always in the direction of a devout and conventional religion, utterly foreign to the pastoral needs of today.[26]

Bugnini, shocked, no doubt, by this intrusion of the supernatural, offered to do all he could to insure that Rouget's desires were met. After some delicate negotiations, an amicable agreement was finally reached, and the model texts for the Prayer of the Faithful were finally published — having been, one presumes, de-Christianized, de-spiritualized and de-supernaturalized to Rouget's satisfaction.

At first after Vatican II, "competent ecclesiastical authority" regulated the contents of the Prayer of the Faithful,[27] but when the *Novus Ordo Missae* appeared in 1969, such restrictions seem to have disappeared.[28] Father Jean-Baptiste Molin, secretary of Study Group 12, later noted with satisfaction that the Prayer of the Faithful now "can create a place for spontaneity in the course of the Mass."[29]

The parish priest or the Director of Worship now either composes the text for the Prayer of the Faithful himself, or uses materials produced by commercial liturgical publishers. And so, with its content left unregulated, the petitions in the Prayer of the Faithful become a free-fire zone for the purveyors of personalist treacle (think Father Chuck offering a petition on "growing and sharing") or the commissars of theological revolution (think Ms. Gauleiter with a petition on "accepting diversity in orientation" — by which she does *not* mean facing the cosmic east for the Eucharistic Prayer...)

The deacon, lector or a commentator announces the petitions for the Prayer of the Faithful.[30]

Sometimes, however, there is a little charade intended to demonstrate "active participation" and cultural diversity. A group of laymen and women line up behind the microphone, forming a sort of Prayer of the Faithful conga line, and each in succession gets to deliver "his" petition. This procedure now takes place even in St. Peter's, where each person involved gets to wear his national costume and announce his petition in Flemish, Swahili, Tagalog or whatever.

The recitation of the Prayer of the Faithful from the president's chair

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26. Quoted in Jean-Baptiste Molin FMC, "La Restauration de la Prière Universelle," LO, 315.
27. See *Inter Oecumenici*, §56, DOL 348 & R18; Consilium, *The Universal Prayer of the Faithful*, 1st ed., pro manuscripto, 13 January 1965, 2nd. ed., 17 April 1966, DOL 1890–928.
28. See GI 69 §45–7, DOL 1435–7.
29. "La Restauration," 317.
30. GI 69 §47, DOL 1437.

rather than at the altar and facing East, moreover, "is a novelty which stands completely against liturgical tradition."[31]

## THE TRADITIONAL LECTIONARY

Since the earliest Christians continued to employ elements of the first-century Palestinian synagogue service in their worship, the celebration of Mass always included Scripture readings and psalms. In the second century St. Justin Martyr noted that the reading at Mass continued, "for as long as time allows."[32] Historians of the liturgy disagree as to whether Scripture passages were read continuously — that is, begun at the point in the Bible that had been reached in the previous celebration of Mass. Be that as it may, the bishop of the diocese selected the biblical passages beforehand, and initially no one made a widespread attempt to organize and impose a fixed system of readings.[33]

Eventually Christians started to associate particular Scripture passages with certain feastdays or observances — a martyr's feast, say, or a penitential day in a particular church. Various systems were used to organize the appropriate passages — the technical term for each passage is *pericope*, from the Greek verb "to cut off." At first, the pericopes were noted in the beginning of the liturgical Bible or in the margin of the text. Later, scribes copied the passages excerpted for Mass into new books called *lectionaries* — books containing the readings or lessons.

The systems for reading the Gospels and for reading the Epistles developed in isolation and were later combined in a somewhat haphazard fashion.[34] The oldest information we possess on which passages were read and when, dates only from the sixth century.[35]

The traditional Missal prescribes precisely what Scripture readings the priest must recite on any given day. On saints' days, he takes the texts from the designated Proper or Common of the Saints. If no particular feast occurs on a weekday, he may then select a Votive or Requiem Mass with its own readings. On Sundays and certain more ancient observances of the liturgical year, the priest must use texts proper to the liturgical season.

Certain features of the traditional system of Scripture readings are quite ancient. While Pope St. Pius V finally made it mandatory for the entire Latin Church only in 1570, scholars trace the readings in the Temporal Cycle back

31. Gamber, *Reform of the Roman Liturgy*, 53.
32. LRC, 245.
33. See Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, NPM Studies (Washington: Pastoral Press 1986), 349–50.
34. Vogel, 315.
35. Vogel, 301.

to the arrangement used in eighth-century Rome.[36] Thus, from the time of the Emperor Charlemagne until the late twentieth century, the same Scripture passages were read during Lent, Holy Week, Easter week and the other more ancient observances of the liturgical year,[37] a living tradition stretching back over 1100 years.

## VATICAN II AND THE READINGS

Even an 1100-year-old tradition, however, didn't deter the radical wing of the Liturgical Movement. In the years from 1951 to 1954, four successive international liturgical conferences recommended adding to or abolishing the old cycle of Scripture readings — one proposal widely circulated at the time even called for establishing a three-year cycle in its place.[38] During the same years, the Liturgical Movement began to agitate for other changes, such as renaming the Mass of the Catechumens the "Liturgy of the Word," reading the Epistle and Gospel in the vernacular facing the people, and requiring the priest to sit while someone else proclaims the readings.[39]

Parallel to these concrete proposals, some specialists in the Movement developed dangerous theories about Christ's "presence" when Scripture is proclaimed, a presence that seemed to overshadow His Real Presence under the Sacred Species. The importance they accorded the "proclaimed word in the assembly" implied that sacramental signs are merely illustrations of "the Word received in Faith"[40] — a classic Protestant position. The offering of the Sacrifice and the reception of Holy Communion became mere adjuncts to the main event of "rendering Christ present in His Word."[41]

Thus ten years later proposals for a "more scriptural worship" abounded when Vatican II turned its attention to the Mass. Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, of course, did not teach that sacramental signs are but "illustrations of the word received in faith." But the text of the Constitution, so cleverly crafted by Bugnini, certainly left the door open for an eventual move in that direction. Witness the following:

> Sacred Scripture is of the greatest importance in the celebration of the liturgy. For it is from Scripture that the readings are given and explained in the homily and that psalms are sung; the prayers, collects, and liturgical songs

36. See Vogel, 354.
37. Vogel, 355.
38. See Ellard, *Mass in Transition*, 214–24.
39. See Murphy, *The Mass and Liturgical Reform*, 208.
40. See Adrien Nocent, "La Parole de Dieu et Vatican II," LO, 134.
41. As noted above, Bouyer maintained that "the whole Mass is a single liturgy of the Word." LP, 79.

> are scriptural in their inspiration; it is from the Scriptures that actions and signs derive their meaning.[42]

Note the discreet signals: Scripture is of the *greatest* importance; actions and signs derive their *meaning* from Scripture. And this emphasis on Scripture came at a time when modernist professors in seminaries and universities were reducing it to myth, midrash and fairy tales.

Consider, moreover, Vatican II's statement on the parts of the Mass:

> The two parts that, in a certain sense, go to make up the Mass, namely, the liturgy of the word and the liturgy of the eucharist, are so closely connected with each other that they form but one single act of worship.[43]

Of course, the parts of the Mass "form one single act of worship," and of course they are "closely connected with each other." But, as any catechism student knows, the principal parts of the Mass are those that constitute the *offering of the Sacrifice*: the Offertory, the Consecration and the Communion. The statement quoted above implies instead that the *Liturgy of the Word* and the *Liturgy of the Eucharist* are the principal parts of the Mass, and that the Scripture readings are on the same level as the sacrificial action. Had such a principle been clearly enunciated, one suspects, it would never have made it into the Constitution. But clear expressions of operating principles — at that early stage of the game, at least — did not serve the reformers' purposes; hence, the shifty qualifier "in a certain sense" appeared in the passage, and another time-bomb began quietly ticking away.

Once you say that Scripture is "of the greatest importance" at Mass, that liturgical signs and actions "derive their meaning" from Scripture, and that proclaiming it at Mass corresponds (implicitly, at least) to offering the Sacrifice, the practical dispositions follow quite naturally. To manifest the "intimate connection between words and rites," said the Council:

> In sacred celebrations there is to be more reading from holy Scriptures and it is to be more varied and apposite.[44]

> The treasures of the Bible are to be opened up more lavishly, so that a richer share in God's word may be provided for the faithful. In this way a more representative portion of Holy Scripture will be read to the people in the course of a prescribed number of years.[45]

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42. SC §24, DOL 24.
43. SC §56, DOL 56.
44. SC §35, DOL 35.
45. SC §51, DOL 41.

Thus sounded the death-knell for the Church's 1100-year-old lectionary, heralding another quiet victory at the Council for the liturgical revolutionaries.

## THE CREATION OF THE NEW LECTIONARY

The ink on the Constitution had been dry for but a few months when, in the Spring of 1964, Consilium empanelled yet another committee of "experts," Study Group 11, headed by Father Godfrey Diekmann,[46] for years a leading radical in the U.S. wing of the Liturgical Movement. "The treasures of the Bible," said Vatican II, "are to be opened up more lavishly" — and what better man for the job than Diekmann, who since the early 1950s, after all, had been deriding the traditional Scripture readings as "spiritual impoverishment"?[47]

In the chapter of his memoirs dealing with the Study Group's work on the new Lectionary, Bugnini piously quoted one of his favorite passages from the Liturgy Constitution: Vatican II's exhortation to "retain sound tradition," but yet "open the way to legitimate progress," insuring that "new forms adopted should in some way grow organically from forms already existing."[48]

In applying that principle at face value to the question of the already-existing readings, one would have expected the experts to add readings for ferial days or saints' days currently lacking special readings of their own, and to leave intact readings of the Temporal Cycle used for more than a millennium. But that of course was not on their treasure map. The whole cycle, from beginning to end, had to be scrapped and replaced with something created from scratch.

**1. First Steps.** To what "existing forms" did the experts first look in their efforts to "retain sound tradition" in revising the cycle of Scripture readings? To Latin lectionaries used between the sixth and twelfth centuries[49] — an interesting excursion, no doubt, into the intriguing world of liturgical archaeology. And of course to other liturgical books replete with all sorts of "sound tradition" — those of heretics such as the Nestorians, the Syro-Jacobites, the Indian Jacobites, the Copts, the Anglicans, the French Hugenots, the "Old Catholics," the Lutheran Churches of Scandinavia, and the Presbyterian Church in the United States.[50]

The Study Group then invited 31 biblicists to indicate which Scripture passages should be used in the new Lectionary, which should be omitted, and

46. RL, 404.
47. Quoted in Ellard, *The Mass in Transition*, 216.
48. RL, 407, quoting SC 23, DOL 23.
49. Gaston Fontaine CRIC, "Commentarium ad Ordinem Lectionum Missae," EL 83 (1969), 437, 440.
50. See RL, 407, and Fontaine, "Commentarium,"440.

how the texts were to be divided. In 1965 Consilium passed along the results of this effort to yet another group of consultors, this time those engaged in catechetical or pastoral work.[51]

All this took time, and some were growing rather impatient. With the introduction of the traditional readings in the vernacular, Bugnini complained, Germany suddenly "found itself in an impoverished state because of the biblical readings."[52] Treasure had to be lavished at once. On 15 October 1964, therefore, Consilium approved an interim weekday lectionary for experimental use in a number of countries where bishops' conferences had requested it. Consilium's official preface to the work contains the following astounding statement:

> It is boring to repeat all through the week the Mass of the preceding Sunday or in Masses of the saints to repeat the same commons with the same scriptural selections.[53]

Boring? A term you'd expect from a teenager forced to assist at Mass, but hardly from a curial document describing an element of the Holy Sacrifice. (Imagine St. Gregory the Great, say, calling a reading from Holy Scripture "boring.")

**2. Respecting Protestant Tradition.** While they were considering their plan of action, some members of Study Group 11 argued against abolishing the old cycle of readings — not because a change would upset an 1100-year-old tradition, but because it would upset the Protestants.

Agostino Cardinal Bea, an old hand in the Liturgical Movement, thought it more prudent to leave the traditional cycle of Scripture readings intact, given the number of Protestant bodies, notably the Lutherans, which still retained it for their communion services.[54] Since Consilium hoped to fashion "a common lectionary for all Christians," caution was indicated; thus, noted Bugnini, "The ecumenical motive carried great weight in the discussion."[55]

Father Cipriano Vagaggini, however, carried the day when he demonstrated that not only had many Protestant denominations already abolished the traditional cycle, but also many of them were well disposed towards a new arrangement.[56] In reading Bugnini's account of the episode, one can almost

51. See RL, 407–8 and Fontaine, "Commentarium," 437–8.
52. RL, 401: "si veniva a trovare in una situazione di impoverimento per le letture bibliche."
53. Consilium, *Note Prima Phasis Renovationis,* on ad interim weekday lectionaries, 15 October 1965, DOL 1819.
54. RL, 204.
55. RL, 411.
56. RL, 411.

hear the experts heave a collective sigh of ecumenical relief.

When it comes to respecting Protestant traditions, however, one can never be too careful. Consilium conferred with its six Protestant "observers" on 8 October 1966. On 10 October 1966, the Rev. Dr. Ronald Jasper, an Anglican minister, publicly declared on behalf of the rest of the "observers" that they "did not want ecumenical considerations to prevent jettisoning the traditional Lectionary."[57] *Causa finita est!* — the matter is settled, thanks to the benign imprimatur from the spiritual heirs of Luther, Cranmer, Knox and Calvin.

Later that very day Consilium approved (unanimously, save one vote) the principle of abolishing the traditional cycle of Scripture readings and replacing it with a three-year cycle.[58] Pure, pure coincidence, of course, because, as we have been repeatedly assured, Protestants had no influence whatsoever in the creation of the New Mass, no, none at all.

**3. Completion of the Work.** In January 1967 Consilium issued another interim lectionary. It contained a two-year cycle of weekday readings which was completely independent of the existing cycle of Sunday readings.[59] One goal the reformers said they espoused was to have the books of the New Testament read *continuously* — that is, divided into several smaller sections and read in order over a series of days.

The interim lectionary, however, was only *virtually* continuous. Parts of the "treasures of the Bible" had been skipped. Consilium explained that some "passages that deal with issues having no pastoral usefulness for our age are omitted."[60] We will examine some of these "useless" passages below when we consider the final version of the Lectionary — but having already seen what topics Consilium excised from the new orations, the list of proscribed ideas will come as no surprise.

Meanwhile, work continued on the final version of a lectionary for the New Mass. In July 1967 Consilium sent a 474-page list of the new readings to national bishops' conferences and to 800 biblicists, liturgists, catechists and pastors for their comments. Based on the responses, Study Group 11 continued its labors on the revisions from January 1968 through early 1969.[61]

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57. RL, 205: "non volevano che ragioni ecumeniche impedissero l'abbandono del lezionario tradizionale." See also RL, 412.
58. See RL, 412.
59. Note *Lectionarium Feriale*, on the lectionary provided by the Consilium, January 1967, DOL 1822.
60. *Lectionarium Feriale*, §5, DOL 1836.
61. Fontaine, "Commentarium," 438.

**4. Approved, Not Read.** In May 1969 Consilium presented the printer's page-proofs of the new Lectionary to Paul VI for his examination. On 24 June 1969 he replied with a letter to Benno Cardinal Gut, then Prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship:

> It is not possible in the brief period of time allowed to get an accurate and complete picture of this new and ample "Order of Readings for Mass."
>
> Based, however, on Our confidence in expert and pious persons who have prepared it after long study, and on that owed the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship which examined and composed it with such care and expertise, We gladly approve it in the name of the Lord.[62]

And so, with but a cursory look at what would replace it, Paul VI consigned to the scrap heap a tradition of 1100 years' standing.

## DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS

Apart from being a completely artificial creation which bore no relationship to what it replaced, the new Lectionary has two distinctive characteristics that set it apart from the old lectionary: the new three-year cycle of readings and the many options that are permitted in using it.

**1. The Three-Year Cycle.** The centerpiece of the new Lectionary as finally approved is the new selection and arrangement of readings for the Temporal Cycle. While one of the aims given for the liturgical changes was to "simplify" worship, the revisers' program of cramming as much instruction as possible into the Liturgy of the Word resulted in a system for the readings that turned out to be complex and confusing. Sundays have been assigned three readings (Old Testament, Epistle and Gospel) which are read on a three-year cycle — that is, a given set of passages is now repeated on a particular Sunday only once every three years instead of every year. Ordinary weekdays have been assigned two readings (Old Testament or Epistle, and Gospel); the first readings follow a two-year cycle and the Gospels, a one-year cycle. For weekdays in Lent and Paschaltide, however, both readings follow a one-year cycle. The Sunday cycle (Years A, B and C) operates independently from the weekday cycle (Years I and II).

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62. RL, 415: "Non ci è possibile, nel brevissimo spazio di tempo che ci è indicato, prendere accurata e completa visione di questo nuovo ed ampio 'Ordo Lectionum Missae.' Ma fondati sulla fiducia delle persone esperte e pie, che lo hanno con lungo studio preparato, e su quella dovuta alla sacra Congregazione per il Culto divino, che lo ha con tanta perizia e sollecitudine esaminato e composto, volentieri noi lo approviamo, in nomine Domini. Nella Festa di S. Giovanni Battista, 24 giugno 1969. Paulus PP VI."

If this leaves you a bit confused, you are not alone. One liturgical publisher in the U.S. solicits subscriptions to a "loose-leaf lectionary" service for priests and lectors who have difficulty figuring out what Scripture passage they're supposed to read on any given day. Three times a year, subscribers receive date-stamped loose-leaf pages containing the assigned Scripture readings, which they then place in a ring binder on the pulpit. (The use of a binder, the advertising copy also notes, "makes it easy to remove the outdated pages" — a liturgical application, perhaps, of modernist theology's approach to revelation.)

If "simplicity" was cast to the winds in creating the new lectionary, so too once again was Vatican II's dictum that new liturgical forms should grow out of forms that already existed. It is impossible to maintain (with a straight face, at least) that the three-year cycle of readings for the New Mass grew organically from anything at all. No known lectionary employed for the Mass of the Roman Rite — from misty antiquity up to the time of Vatican II — followed a multiple-year cycle. The new Lectionary, rather, is an artificial creation, the work of scholars who, like Frankenstein, assembled parts according to their own peculiar theories.

**2. Options and Deregulation.** This, of course, is not to say that the new Lectionary established some sort of definitive and universal discipline for the selection and arrangement of Scripture readings. Like the rest of the New Mass, the rubrics for the Lectionary permit endless options and choices — more deregulation.

Bishops' conferences may reduce the number of readings on Sundays from three to two.[63] When a feast day interrupts the weekday readings prescribed for the Temporal Cycle, the priest is allowed to combine omitted parts with other readings or to "give preference to certain readings." In Masses with "special groups" — whoever they are — priests may choose texts "more suited" — whatever that means — to the particular celebration, provided the texts are taken from the texts of an approved lectionary.[64]

The Lectionary, moreover, provides longer or shorter forms for some readings; the choice is left to the priest's discretion.[65] Where choices between different texts are permitted, the "needs of the people" must be considered, since a text "may present difficulties for a certain group"; an "easier" text may be chosen or a text may be repeated or postponed "when it is helpful pastorally."[66]

63. GI 69 §318, DOL 1708.
64. GI 69 §319, DOL 1709.
65. LI §8, DOL 1850.
66. LI §8.b, DOL 1850.

Saints, apparently, are not helpful pastorally. While the traditional Missal emphasized the honor due the saints by assigning each feast readings that were at least taken from the Common of Saints, the new Lectionary prescribes such readings for a mere 30 feasts. For the remaining 147 memorials or commemorations of Our Lady, the saints or the angels, the Introduction to the new Lectionary recommends using the weekday readings prescribed in the Temporal Cycle,[67] a procedure which divorces the content of the Scripture readings from the saint of the day. The priest who decides to exercise an option to select readings more appropriate to a saint's feast clearly transgresses the spirit of the general norm; he is also confronted with a dizzying array of readings in the Lectionary's Commons of the Saints, all of them, of course, optional.

All these options and choices, governed by fuzzily-worded "norms" (instead of real rules) and linked to the subjective notion of "pastoral suitability" are yet another instance of how the new rites have broken down the universal character of the Church's worship. Thanks to Consilium's anarchic legislation, where once a Scripture passage was proposed for our consideration by the Church, it may now be proposed on the say-so of a Father Chuck, or, just possibly, even a surprisingly creative Father Retreaux.[68]

## "TRULY DIFFICULT TEXTS"

The liberties Consilium allowed individuals to take in choosing Scripture readings, however, pale beside the liberties Consilium first took itself with the teachings in the sacred text.

Hints of a hidden agenda first appear in the Introduction to the new Lectionary, a document that lays out the criteria that the revisers followed in deciding which Scripture passages would be employed at the New Mass. Here we learn:

- Scripture passages that are "truly difficult," which present "serious literary, critical or exegetical problems" or which the faithful "may find too difficult to understand" are not employed on Sundays.[69]
- In certain passages appointed to be read to the people, individual verses have occasionally been omitted, since they were deemed to be "of little pastoral worth, or involving truly difficult questions."[70]
- In some cases, individual verses in a reading are optional; in others, an entirely different reading may be substituted. "Pastoral reasons" and the

67. See LI §8.e, DOL 1850.
68. I knew a young priest in the 1970s who, using all the rules in the new Lectionary, found a way to justify using all the old readings for his weekday celebrations of the New Mass.
69. LI §7.c, DOL 1849.
70. LI §7.d, DOL 1849.

ability of the people "to understand difficult texts correctly" will determine which option the priest chooses.[71]

Now this obtuse language is all very intriguing. Paul VI's Constitution promulgating the New Mass stated that the Lectionary contained the most important part of Scripture, "the foundation of Christian instruction and the core of all theological study." Are certain parts of Scripture now *less* important in terms of Christian instruction and theological study? What quality in a Scripture passage made it so "difficult" or of such little "pastoral worth," say, that the revisers felt compelled either to (a) exclude its use from Sundays, (b) render sections of it optional, or (c) keep it out of the Lectionary altogether?

The answer, once again, is "negative theology." Despite their claim that the new cycle of readings presented a comprehensive exposition of New Testament teaching — a claim never made, of course, for the lectionary in the traditional Missal — the majority of passages or individual verses the revisers rendered optional or excluded from the Lectionary altogether embody precisely those concepts which contemporary man finds disturbing or which modernist theology rejects.

Only when you lay the text of the New Testament alongside the list of readings in the new Lectionary do you start to see the pattern emerge. An option here, an omission there — and after a while you start to understand that there were certain parts of the New Testament that the revisers preferred we not dwell on. "Negative" concepts like divine wrath, hell and condemnation of unbelief cannot be made to disappear entirely from the readings at Mass, of course — you would end up with no Scripture readings at all — but they can be handled more discreetly, shall we say, by means of what Dom Guéranger called "an adroit choice."

Below, grouped by theme, are some negative New Testament passages and an indication of their fate in the new Lectionary.

**1. Divine Wrath.** The concept of God's anger over transgressions of His law strikes contemporary man as negative and was handled as follows:

*Substitute readings permitted:*

- Our Lord, filled with righteous anger, drives the money-changers from the temple.[72]

*Verses optional:*

- The wicked servant who knew his master's wishes but disregarded them is beaten with more severity than the one who knew not his

71. LI §8.b, DOL 1850.
72. Jn 2:13–25. L 29, Quad 3b.

master's wishes. [73]

*Missing from Lectionary:*

- Vengeance is the Lord's and He will repay; it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.[74]
- God is both lawgiver and judge who can both destroy and deliver.[75]
- If at God's judgement the just man shall scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?[76]
- Whosoever shall keep the whole law, but offend on one point, becomes guilty of all.[77]

**2. Punishment in this Life for Sin.** Reminders that divine punishment can be incurred in this life for sins committed are unsettling. Still more unsettling, perhaps, is the thought that God sometimes inflicts retribution dramatically and miraculously. Therefore:

*Verses removed from middle of passage:*

- In Acts, the account of the suicide of Judas and its characterization as the "reward of iniquity."[78]
- St. Paul's warning that, in the Old Testament, fornicators, tempters and murmurers were struck and destroyed by God in this life on account of their wickedness. (Formerly, Pentecost IX.)[79]

*Missing from Lectionary:*

- Annias and Saphira struck dead for fraud.[80]
- Herod struck down and eaten by worms for the sin of blasphemy.[81]
- Elymas the magician struck blind for trying to turn the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, from the faith.[82]

**3. Condemnations of Impurity.** Expressions of divine wrath over impurities must give way to a "more pastoral" approach. Hence:

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73. Lk 12:47–8. Cf. L 118, Annm 19c.
74. Heb 10:30–1.
75. Jas 4:12.
76. 1 Pet 4:17–8.
77. Jas 2:10.
78. Acts 1:18–20b. Cf L 61, Pasc 7b.
79. 1 Cor 10:7–9. Cf. L 30, Quad 3c.
80. Acts 5:1–11.
81. Acts 12:19–23.
82. Acts 13:7–12.

*Verses removed from passages:*

- St. Paul's warning that those who commit impurities are subject to "the wrath of God."[83]

*Missing from Lectionary:*

- The fornicator, like Esau, sells his birthright.[84]
- Fornicators and adulterers God will judge.[85]
- He who sows in the flesh shall reap corruption.[86]

**4. Narrow the Gate.** Since (modernist theologians tell us) all men are saved merely by the fact of the Incarnation, some of Holy Scripture's words now seem, well, a bit "narrow." Therefore:

*Verses optional:*

- In the Parable of the Guests Invited to the Wedding Feast: the expulsion of the man who came without a wedding garment, his consignment to the outer darkness where there is wailing and gnashing of teeth, and the words "Many are called, but few are chosen." (Formerly, Pentecost XIX.).[87]

*Verses removed from passages:*

- From the Parable of Laborers Called into the Vineyard, the phrase: "For many are called, but few are chosen." (Formerly, Septuagesima.)[88]
- From the Apocalypse, the exclusion from heaven at the end of the world of "dogs [i.e., heretics], and sorcerers, and unchaste, and murderers, and servers of idols, and everyone that loveth and maketh a lie."[89]

**5. Hell.** Hell and its fires are, to say the least, "difficult." Since Our Lord Himself appeared oblivious to the feelings of His hearers on the matter, the revisers naturally felt compelled to offset the Divine Shepherd's startling lack of pastoral sensitivity. Thus:

*Verses optional:*

- Our Lord's words: "Whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire." (Formerly, Pentecost V.) "for it is expedient for thee that

83. Col 3:6. Cf. L 115, Annm 18c. The "objectionable" phrase is used only in the weekday reading.
84. Heb 12:16.
85. Heb 13:4.
86. Gal 6:8.
87. Mt 22:11–4. Cf. L 143, Annm 28a.
88. Mt 20:16b. Cf. L 134, Annm 25a.
89. Ap 22:15. Cf. L 62, Pasc 7c.

one of thy members should perish, rather than thy whole body go into hell."[90]

• Our Lord's explanation of the Parable of the Sower: The weeds gathered up to be burned symbolize the followers of the devil; at the end of the world, those who work iniquity shall be cast into the furnace of fire where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.[91]

• Our Lord's explanation of the parable comparing the kingdom of heaven to a net: the angels, at the end of the world, shall separate the wicked from the just and hurl the wicked into a furnace of fire.[92]

• In the Parable of the Guests Invited to the Wedding Feast: the expulsion of the man who came without a wedding garment, his consignment to the outer darkness where there is wailing and gnashing of teeth. (Formerly, Pentecost XIX.)[93]

• In the Parable of the Talents, the punishment of the wicked and slothful servant, and his expulsion into the outer darkness where there is wailing and gnashing of teeth.[94]

**6. The World.** A "new view of human values" will dictate a more discriminating use of texts that condemn the spirit of the world. Therefore:

*Substitute reading permitted:*

• Our Lord's words: "He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world, keepeth it unto life eternal."[95]

*Verses optional:*

• St. Paul's condemnation of the "enemies of the cross of Christ; whose end is destruction; whose God is their belly, and whose glory is their shame," and of those "who mind earthly things." (Formerly, Pentecost XXIII.)[96]

*Missing from Lectionary:*

• We have here no lasting city.[97]

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90. Mt 5:22, 30. Cf. L 77, Annm 6a.
91. Mt 13:38–42. Cf. L 107, Annm 16b.
92. Mt 13:49–50. Cf. L 110, Annm 17a.
93. Mt 22:11–4. Cf. L 143, Annm 28a.
94. Mt 25:24–30. Cf. L 158, Annm 33a.
95. Jn 12:25. L 35, Quad 5b.
96. Phil 3:17–9. Cf. L 28, Quad 2c.
97. Heb 13:14.

**7. Ecumenical Requirements.** If ecumenical requirements and expressions "no longer in harmony with the new positions of the Church" moved the revisers to alter the traditional orations, certain scriptural passages that could be applied to "separated brethren" were likewise best consigned to oblivion.

*Missing passages on unbelievers and our dealings with them:*

- The god of this world has blinded unbelievers to the truth.[98]
- Bear not the yoke with unbelievers, since light and darkness, Christ and Belial, faithful and unbeliever, have nothing in common and must remain separate.[99]
- Our Lord, in a flame of fire shall wreak vengeance on those who know not God or reject the gospel, and they shall suffer eternal punishment from the face of the Lord.[100]
- Many who came out of Egypt sinned by unbelief, and thus could not enter into the promised land.[101]
- The unbelieving shall be punished in a pool of fire and brimstone.[102]
- Every soul which will hear not the prophet shall be destroyed.[103]
- Willful apostasy brings dread judgement and a rage of fire.[104]

*Missing passages on the Jews:*

- The Jews conspire to kill St. Paul.[105]
- Unbelieving Jews stir up the minds of Gentiles against the faith.[106]
- Jews incite the people and rulers of Thessalonica against St. Paul.[107]
- Jewish conjurers are attacked by a demon.[108]
- Jews seize St. Paul in the temple and seek to kill him.[109]
- Vain talkers and seducers, "especially of the circumcision," who spread fables and turn away from the truth.[110]
- The church of Ephesus is blasphemed by them who say they are Jews, and are not, but are of "the synagogue of Satan."[111]

98. 2 Cor 4:4.
99. 2 Cor 6:14–8.
100. 2 Thess 1:6–9.
101. Heb 3:18–9. Similarly, Heb 4:6–10.
102. Ap 21:8.
103. Acts 3:23.
104. Heb 10:26–7.
105. Acts 9:21–5.
106. Acts 14:1–4.
107. Acts 17:1–14.
108. Acts 19:8–16.
109. Acts 21:27–31.
110. Titus 1:10–6.
111. Ap 2:9, 3:9.

• The Jews "who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and have persecuted us, and please not God, and are adversaries to all men."[112]

*Missing passages on heresy, heretics and their ultimate fate:*

• False apostles are deceitful workmen, who, like Satan, transform themselves into angels of light.[113]

• Beware of false teachers; they are comparable to dogs.[114]

• Shun the vain babblings and the canker of those who have erred from the truth and subverted the faith, and who are held in the devil's snares.[115]

• Be not led away with various and strange doctrines.[116]

• Avoid the heretic, since he is subverted and condemned by his own judgement.[117]

• If anyone bring you not this doctrine, receive him not nor say: God speed you, or else you will partake of his wicked works.[118]

• It would be better that false teachers had not known the way of justice, since they will receive a more severe judgement; they are like dogs who have returned to their vomit or sows wallowing in the mire.[119]

**8. Women.** The New Testament's teaching on women in society, the Church and the family is routinely dismissed by modernist exegetes as "culturally conditioned" and hence outmoded. Thus:

*Missing from Lectionary:*

• Let women's heads be covered when they pray before God; the woman was created for the man, and is subject to him.[120]

• Let women keep silence in the church, for it is not permitted for them to speak but to be subject.[121]

• Women should adorn themselves with modesty, learn in silence and not have authority over a man; a woman shall be saved through childbearing.[122]

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112. 1 Thess 2:14–5.
113. 2 Cor 11:13–4.
114. Phil 3:2.
115. 2 Tim 2:16–26.
116. Heb 13:9.
117. Titus 3:10–1.
118. 2 Jn 1:10–1.
119. 2 Pet 2:1–22.
120. 1 Cor 11:2–16.
121. 1 Cor 14:34–5.
122. 1 Tim 2:9–15.

> • Wives must be subject to their husbands, but be given honor as the weaker vessel.[123]

St. Paul's words on women keeping silence in church might have seemed out of place when proclaimed by the Gigantic Voice of Ms. Gauleiter (formerly, Sr. Albertus Magnus), who also "speaks truth to power" on women's ordination.

**9. Worthiness for the Eucharist.** On Holy Thursday and the feast of Corpus Christi, the Church customarily employed St. Paul's account of Our Lord's institution of the Eucharist. The Apostle ended with a warning to those who would receive Communion unworthily:

> Therefore whosoever shall eat this bread or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man prove himself; and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that chalice. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgement to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord.[124]

The passage has been excised from the readings for both feasts,[125] and appears nowhere at all in the new Lectionary. The omission may be one reason why, despite the general neglect of the Sacrament of Penance, few souls who go to the New Mass ever abstain from receiving communion.

**10. A Final Warning?** And finally the revisers left out from the middle of a Sunday reading the following words from the Book of the Apocalypse:

> If any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city.[126]

For liturgical reformers who drop verses from Scripture readings, this is a "truly difficult text" if there ever was one.

## ANALYSIS

So, in terms of the purpose that Paul VI had announced for revising the Lectionary — that of imparting to the faithful "the foundation of Christian instruction and the core of all theological study" — the actual result was a gigantic fraud. Under the guise of presenting *more* Scripture, the reformers in fact presented *less* of its actual message, thus engaging in the same program of "adroit choice" as Luther and company. By deliberately and systematically

123. 1 Pet 3:1–7.
124. 1 Cor 11:27–9.
125. See L 40 and L 170.
126. Ap 22:19. Cf. L 62, Pasc 7c.

obscuring parts of New Testament teaching, they falsified the Word of God.

As a result, the teachings that have disappeared will seem of little import to the average believer — if he is even aware that they existed at all. This will permanently warp the layman's perception of Catholic doctrine, for the new Lectionary, as one of its creators, Father Adrien Nocent observed, "is destined in the long run, but inevitably, to change the theological mentality and very spirituality of the Catholic people."[127]

And indeed it has. For like the Scripture described by Guéranger in the worship of the Protestant reformers, the Lectionary of Paul VI is Scripture:

> but interpreted, chosen and presented by men whose goal is creating something new. It is a dangerous trap for simple souls. And it is only long after that you realize you have been deceived — and that the word of God, that two-edged sword, has inflicted great wounds, for it has been wielded by the sons of perdition.[128]

## SUMMARY

• The purpose of the Liturgy of the Word is to provide direct and immediate religious instruction to the members of the assembled congregation. This new purpose falsifies the real end of the Mass — to glorify the Most Blessed Trinity and to offer God a sacrifice of propitiation for sin — and substitutes another.

• Like the Introductory Rites, the Liturgy of the Word is conducted facing the people, as "an action of a deliberative assembly."

• When the Liturgy of the Word is performed in the ideal manner envisioned in the General Instruction, the role of the priest is limited to reciting aloud two prayers — the introduction and the conclusion for the Prayer of the Faithful.

• During the 1950s, some members of the Liturgical Movement proposed a three-year cycle of Scripture readings.

• Vatican II taught that Scripture is "of the greatest importance in the liturgy" and that sacramental signs derive their meaning from Scripture. The council implied that the principal parts of the Mass were the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Eucharist, rather than the Offertory, Consecration and Communion.

• Vatican II laid down the general principle that the liturgy was henceforth to have more reading of Scripture and that the readings were to be "more varied and apposite." It also said that "the treasures of the Bible are to be opened up more lavishly" and that a "more representative portion of Holy

127. "La Parole de Dieu," 136.
128. IL 1:399.

Scripture" was to be read to the people in a prescribed number of years."

• The resulting Lectionary was created by Consilium Study Group 11 between 1964 and 1969, and featured a three-year cycle for Sunday Scripture readings.

• In 1969, Paul VI approved the new Lectionary without reading it.

• The three-year cycle of Scripture readings had no known antecedent in the Mass of the Roman Rite.

• The new legislation governing the Liturgy of the Word introduces further deregulation and options into official public worship. It allows individuals to formulate their own texts for liturgical use (the Introductory Comments, the Prayer of the Faithful) or to choose from a wide array of texts provided (the Scripture readings in the new Lectionary), parts of which are themselves optional. This deregulation: (1) destroys the universal character of the liturgy, and (2) subjects the liturgy and worshippers to individual initiatives rooted in caprice, ignorance, foolishness or even heresy.

• Despite the reformers' claim that the new cycle of readings presented a comprehensive exposition of New Testament teaching (a claim never made for the traditional cycle of readings) the prefatory material for the new Lectionary hints at a hidden agenda: "difficult" Scripture passages are not employed on Sundays, certain passages "of little pastoral worth or involving truly difficult questions" have been omitted, and some individual verses are optional.

• A comparison of the list of readings in the Lectionary and the text of the New Testament reveals that the revisers systematically obscured parts of the New Testament message. They sought to shield the average Sunday church-goer from passages that contained "negative themes" — God's wrath, punishment in this life for sin, the sinfulness of impurity, hell, condemnations of the world, non-believers, heretics, and worthiness to receive the Eucharist. They dealt with such passages by excluding them from Sundays, rendering parts of them optional, dropping individual verses, allowing a substitute reading or keeping them out of the Lectionary entirely.

• In terms, therefore, of its announced goal of presenting to the faithful what Paul VI called "the foundation of Christian instruction and the core of all theological study," the Lectionary of the Missal of Paul VI is a gigantic fraud.

Chapter 11

# The Preparation of the Gifts: New Offerings

DURING THE early years of the traditionalist movement, priests like me spent our Sundays going from city to city to offer the traditional Latin Mass for scattered groups of Catholics who wanted nothing to do with the *Novus Ordo.*

One day, a fellow priest who was on his way to the Pennsylvania circuit (Clearfield, Pittston, Williamsport) stopped to eat in a diner in Bath, PA. He noticed that, along with the menu on the table, the devout owner of the restaurant had placed a card that not only encouraged diners to say grace before meals, but also provided the prayer texts used by various religious denominations.

My colleague, naturally, was intrigued, and read through the various prayers till his eyes stopped on the Jewish grace: "Blessed art Thou, Lord God of the Universe, for through Thy goodness we have this bread..." — the Offertory prayer, of course, from the New Mass. And of course, he was reading it in a diner in Bath only because some priest nearby was *also* reading it — as the Offertory prayer for the *Novus Ordo.*

At this point, I would perhaps be interrupted by the Gigantic Voice of the former Sister Albertus Magnus (whom Father Retreaux has slyly nicknamed "Big Al"), reminding me that there *is* no "Offertory" in the Mass of Paul VI, mister, because it is now called "the Preparation of Gifts."

The only appropriate response, of course, is a very meek "Yes, Sister." But before we discuss that particular change in terminology, we must first explain the new labels for the two principal sections of the Mass of Paul VI.

The two main divisions of the traditional Mass are called the Mass of the Catechumens (from the beginning up to and including the Creed) and the Mass of the Faithful (Offertory, Canon, Communion rite, and conclusion). The labels reflect the ancient discipline of the Church, according to which only the faithful (i.e., the baptized) could be present for the part of the Mass that pertained directly to the sacrificial offering.

If the terms had roots in Christian antiquity, why did the creators of the New Mass — self-professed restorers of "the pristine norms of the Fathers" and such — replace them with labels like "Liturgy of the Word" and "Liturgy

of the Eucharist," which seem to be modern coinages?[1] I think that there are two possible explanations.

First, in the General Instruction the term "Mass" took second place to the Protestant and more ecumenically palatable expression "Lord's Supper." One can hardly expect the old term to figure as a subdivision of the rite itself.

Second, the ancient Christian discipline that the old terminology reflected was, in fact, exclusivist and explicitly anti-ecumenical. Not only were the unbaptized excluded from the rest of the Mass before the Offertory, but in some places the deacon even chanted a ritual formula of expulsion, which was like the Greeting of the New Mass, only in reverse gear:

> ... Let the heretic now depart!
> Let the Jew now depart!
> Let the pagan now depart!
> Let the Arian now depart!
> Let him who has no business here now depart![2]

Compare those sentiments with the situation in the post-Vatican II Church — where heretics are partners for joint declarations, bishops celebrate Passover with rabbis, non-Christian religions are means of salvation, and neo-Arians abound in theology departments — and you get some idea why the phrase "Mass of the Faithful" had to be updated.

Here, we will examine the Preparation of the Gifts in the New Mass by treating the following topics: (1) The Offertory Rite in the traditional Mass. (2) Luther's objections to it. (3) The reasons given for replacing the Offertory with the Preparation of the Gifts. (4) The Offertory chant. (5) The lay Offertory Procession in the New Mass. (6) The traditional Offertory prayers. (7) The prayers that replaced them in the Mass of Paul VI. (8) The preparation of the chalice. (9) The fate of subsequent prayers and ceremonies: *In the spirit of humility*, *Come Thou the Sanctifier*, the incensation prayers, the washing of hands, *Receive, O Holy Trinity* and *Pray, brethren*. (10) The Secret in the traditional Mass. (11) The Prayer over the Gifts in the New Mass.

## THE TRADITIONAL OFFERTORY RITE

Liturgical scholars and theologians have written at great length about the meaning of the word "Offertory" and exactly what it included.[3] For our

1. The expression "Liturgy of the Eucharist" appears for the first time in an official document, insofar as I have been able to determine, in §56 of the Vatican II's Liturgy Constitution, the work, of course, of Bugnini.

2. See P. Borella, "La 'Missa' o 'Dismissio Catechumenorum' nelle Liturgie Occidentali," EL 53 (1939), 98.

3. See, for example, J.B. Molin FMC, "Depuis Quand le Mot Offertoire sert-il à Désigner une Partie de la Messe?" EL 76 (1962), 355–80.

purposes here, however, it will be sufficient merely to describe the Offertory rite as the series of prayers and ceremonies beginning with the priest's *Dominus vobiscum* after the Creed and ending with the oration recited before the Preface (the Secret).

The history of the development of the Offertory Rite has been the subject of many scholarly works. At Rome, the rite was originally fairly simple, but included the Secret, an oration whose text varied according to the feast. A number of prayers and ceremonies were added later, mostly as a result of French and German influence. While certain texts and rubrics for the Offertory rite were common to many countries and dioceses,[4] for many centuries there was no absolute uniformity throughout Christendom.

In 1570, Pope St. Pius V made one set of already-existing texts obligatory throughout the Roman Rite. According to Jungmann, he retained more or less those prayers and ceremonies that were used in central Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[5]

Despite some variations in wording, all of the texts preceding the legislation of St. Pius V generally reflect the same ideas as the prayers he adopted. Theologian C. Callewaert, writing in the 1940s, examined the purposes of an Offertory rite, and discerned three common elements: (1) The sacrifice is prepared; (2) The sacrifice is directed to a determinate end, and (3) The offering of the sacrifice is begun.[6]

All these ideas, and many others equally sublime, are expressed in the Offertory prayers of the traditional Mass.

The Offertory prayers contain another element that is at first a bit striking: they refer to the host as "the immaculate Victim," and the chalice as "the chalice of salvation," even though the Consecration has not yet taken place. The Mass of the Eastern Rites,[7] and the Lyonnaise, Carthusian and Dominican Rites[8] also contain similar expressions that "anticipate" the Consecration.

Since the bread and wine have not yet been changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, how should such language be understood? Liturgist Alan Clark explained that the Church views the *total* Eucharistic rite as the celebration of the Sacrifice of the Mass. Consequently, during the Offertory, the thought of her prayer is *already* on the oblation of Christ's Body and Blood.[9]

Put another way, the Church views the bread and wine not so much

4. See generally, Paul Tirot OSB, "Histoire des Prières d'Offertoire, dans la Liturgie Romaine du VIIe au XVIe Siècle," EL 98 (1984), 148–97 and 321–91.
5. *Public Worship: A Survey* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press 1957), 123.
6. "De Offerenda et Oblatione in Missa," *Periodica de Re Morali* 33 (1944), 66–7.
7. See TM, 298.
8. For a comparison of the texts, see Cabié, 158–61.
9. "The Function of the Offertory Rite in the Mass," EL 64 (1950), 338–9.

through the eye of time as through the eye of eternity.

Father Nicholas Gihr explains that the prayers and ceremonial actions of the Offertory relate to a twofold object: the elements of bread and wine, and the Body and Blood of Christ. Briefly:

(1) The bread and wine are withdrawn from common use, consecrated to God and previously sanctified, so they are made fit for their exalted destiny; hence, repeated petitions to God that He accept, bless or consecrate the bread and wine.

(2) The Church does not wait until the change of substance has taken place, however, to offer the Divine Victim to the Divine Majesty. She already offers it, as if the consecration of the sacrificial elements had already passed. Thus the Church designates the Oblation by terms that in their full sense could be applied only to Christ's sacrificial Body and Blood — *immaculate Victim, chalice of salvation,* etc. — because she expects great effects and fruits that cannot be ascribed to offering mere bread and wine, but only to the offering of the Divine Victim.[10]

From the Offertory prayers, Gihr adds, we may therefore by no means conclude that offering elements of *bread and wine* is a real sacrifice. Only Jesus Christ, present on our altars under both species, is the perpetual Sacrifice of the Catholic Church, our real and true Sacrifice.[11]

## LUTHER'S OBJECTIONS

It was the explicitly sacrificial language of the traditional Offertory rite — Victim, sacrifice, offering, oblation — that the sixteenth-century Protestants objected to. Luther, said Callewaert, "was the first to rebel against the traditional concept of oblation."[12] Though after he fell into heresy Luther continued to offer Mass for awhile, he immediately dropped the Offertory, calling it "that complete abomination... on account of which nearly everything sounds and reeks of oblation." Placing Christ's words in the same service as the Offertory he compares to leaving the Ark of the Covenant in the temple of idols next to Dagon.[13]

The Offertory, moreover, was a *priestly* rite, and thus had to be spurned. "All the reformers," said Lutheran historian Luther Reed, "rejected the Roman Offertory and its idea of a sin offering by the priest instead of a thank offering by the people."[14]

Protestants also objected to the language in the rite that "anticipated"

10. HSM, 494–5.
11. HSM, 495–6.
12. "De Offerenda," 70.
13. *Formula Missae* (1523), trans. in Thompson, 111.
14. *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 312.

the sacrifice. The Offertory prayers, says Reed, "anticipated the consecration and the 'miracle of the Mass' and invoked the divine blessing in view of the Eucharistic sacrifice to be offered."[15]

In 1523 Luther issued his first series of revisions for the Order of the Mass, "repudiating," as he said, "all those things which smack of sacrifice and of the Offertory."[16] He abolished all the old prayers and left in their place the following terse directions: "During the Creed or after the [Sermon], let bread and wine be prepared in the customary way for consecration."[17]

## WHY ABOLISH THE OFFERTORY?

And Sister was correct, of course: the Mass of Paul VI has no rite called "the Offertory"; in its place is the "Preparation of the Gifts."

Like Luther's rubric, the General Instruction's explanation for this rite is laconic and purely utilitarian: "In the Preparation of the Gifts, the bread and wine are brought to the altar, that is, the same elements that Christ used."[18]

When the New Mass first appeared, the conservatives caused an uproar over the gutting of the Offertory rite. Consilium replied, as usual, by defending the change as a return to tradition — the Church had corrupted the Offertory Rite over the centuries, and now the experts were merely setting things aright:

> History teaches us that the Offertory rite is an action of preparation for the sacrifice *in which the priest and ministers accept the gifts offered by the people....* This preparatory meaning has always been the identifying note of the Offertory, even though the formularies did not adequately bring it out and were couched in sacrificial language....[19]

This statement was false, and is another example of how the creators of the Mass of Paul VI distorted history in order to promote their innovations. According to Alan Clark, whose doctoral thesis examined the history of the Offertory Rite, "to describe the Offertory in terms of an action of the laity *has no real historical basis.*"[20]

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15. Reed, 312.

16. *Formula Missae*, in Thompson, 111.

17. Ibid. 111.

18. GI 69 §48.1, DOL 1438. A few passages in the 1970 General Instruction still employed the term "Offertory," generally in reference to the chant that is sung while the bread and wine are presented. But the occasional appearance of the older expression, one suspects, was an oversight. In the 1971 Latin edition of the General Instruction the term "offertorium" appears in §§17, 50, 80.c, 100, 133, 166, 167, 221, 235, and 324. The official English translation of the Instruction, based on the 1975 *editio typica*, does not, insofar as I can determine, use the word "Offertory" once.

19. Reply 25, "Documentorum Explicatio," *Notitiae* 6 (1970), 37. My emphasis.

20. "The Offertory Rite: A Recent Study," EL 67 (1953), 242.

Clark had published this article in 1953 in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* — a periodical edited by a certain Father Annibale Bugnini.

Consilium's pronouncement then went on to denounce the traditional prayers as erroneous:

> The former prayers... were not accurate expressions of the genuine meaning of the "Offertory" rites but merely anticipated the meaning of the true and literal sacrificial offering that is present in the Eucharistic Prayer....[21]

This, of course, is essentially Luther's objection and has been repeated by nearly every commentary available on the New Mass.

When Consilium's experts tried to dredge up some ancient texts to replace the traditional prayers and turn the Offertory into a sacrifice-free zone, however, they hit a wall. Out of all the formulas used in the Roman and other Western rites, they could not find even *one* which did not anticipate the Consecration or refer to the idea of sacrificial offering. *Every* liturgical rite in the Western Church, it seems, employed prayers that "were not accurate expressions of the genuine meaning of the Offertory rites." This is a whole lot of inaccuracy. As a result, said Father Carlo Braga, "it was necessary to create new formulas from scratch."[22]

And once again, we see the methods of the anti-liturgical heresy at work: reject an existing liturgical tradition by appealing to antiquity, and then create something completely new.

But if the arguments from *history* for destroying the Catholic Offertory Rite were indeed flimsy, why was it done?

For an answer, we can turn to a 1969 article by Consilium's Father Luca Brandolini: The doctrine contained in the new Preparation of Gifts, he says, is excellent. Its sacrificial character has been abolished, it is no longer called the "Offertory," and the priest's private prayers which anticipated the idea of offering are gone — all of which created "difficulties on the doctrinal plane,"

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21. Reply 26, "Documentorum Explicatio," *Notitiae* 6 (1970), 37–8.

22. "In Novum Ordinem Missae," 378. "Profundior, sub aspectu doctrinali, est mutatio quae ad offertorium invenitur. Ritus quidem manent sicuti usque adhuc exstabant; formulae tamen numero parum minuuntur, textus praesertim mutantur, ita ut clarior appareat hujus partis significatio. Difficultas oriebatur praecipue ex formulis oblationis panis et vini: *Suscipe... Offerimus...* Nam his formulis indebite anticipatur notio oblationis sacrificialis quae Canoni Missae est propria. Selectio aliarum formularum, inter eas quae in traditione tum ritus romani tum aliorum rituum occidentalium inveniuntur, possibilis non fuit, quia omnes eosdem conceptus referunt. Necessario proinde fuit formulas ex novo conficere...." The texts of the various prayers quoted by Tirot provide an idea of what Consilium was up against.

and "jeopardized ecumenical dialogue on the Eucharist."[23]

So, once again, ecumenism.

## THE OFFERTORY CHANT

The Offertory Rite in the traditional Mass begins after the Creed. The celebrant venerates the altar with the customary kiss, turns toward the people, says or sings *Dominus vobiscum*, and faces the altar to recite the text of the Offertory Chant, which at High Mass is also sung by the choir.

The selection and arrangement of the scriptural texts used for the Offertory Chant is, like those for the other chants in the Mass of the Roman Rite, about a thousand years old.[24] It originated in North Africa, and spread to Rome around the time of St. Augustine.[25] According to Jungmann, from its earliest days the Offertory Chant was not a congregational chant, but sung in its entirety by a trained choir.[26]

In the Mass of Paul VI, the Offertory Chant met the same fate as the Gradual and the Tract — practically speaking it exists no more. The 1969 General Instruction merely states that the procession bringing the gifts is accompanied by the Presentation Song.[27] There are no texts assigned for it in the 1970 Missal; deciding what texts are to be sung and which music is to be used is left up to bishops' conferences. The U.S. bishops' conference merely made some recommendations on the matter in 1969.[28] In effect, these allowed those in charge of liturgy in a particular parish to choose whatever music or texts they deemed appropriate.

The few churches that sponsor sung celebrations of the New Mass in Latin can find texts and music in the new *Graduale Romanum* that were prepared by the monks of Solesmes. The chants it assigns to a given day are, as one would expect, optional. You can mix and match chants from different days "for pastoral reasons."[29]

But the vernacular is the near-universal norm anyway. In the average

23. "Aspetti Pastorali," 394. "Eccellente la dottrina nuova che vi fa da sottofondo: dissipato l'equivoco sul carattere 'sacrificale,' è stato rimesso in luce l'autentico e originario significato di 'preparazione dei doni.' E ciò si è ottenuto da una parte eliminando il termine 'offertorio' con cui comunemente erano designati questi riti, e dall'altra espungendo dall'OM quelle apologie personali del celebrante che anticipavano l'idea dell'offerta, e che si erano tardivamente introdotte nella liturgia con intendimenti devozionali. Esse creavano, come noto, notevoli difficoltà sul piano dottrinale e compromettevano anche il dialogo ecumenico dell'Eucaristia."

24. MRR 1:330.

25. MRR 2:27–8.

26. See MRR 2:28–9.

27. GI 69 §50, DOL 1440.

28. See "Appendix to the General Instruction," §50.

29. See SC Divine Worship, *Ordo Cantus Missae*, Introduction, 24 June 1974, DOL 4279.

parish the congregation sings a vernacular hymn or psalm[30] — the ancient tradition of the choir alone singing the Offertory chant has been discarded. As regards the text and the melody, the choice belongs no longer to tradition or general legislation but to the local equivalent of Ms. Gauleiter. How did Gregory the Great manage without her?

## THE LAY OFFERTORY PROCESSION

Next in the New Mass comes the "Offertory Procession," in which selected laymen walk up the aisle bearing the bread, water and wine, and present them to the priest or deacon. While the General Instruction did not absolutely require having the procession, it highly recommended the practice.[31] Most American parishes have some kind of Offertory procession at their Sunday services.[32]

**1. History.** Before Vatican II, the lay Offertory procession was, like the Dialogue Mass, one of the favorite proposals of the Liturgical Movement.[33] By 1947 more "advanced" parishes in Europe and America had introduced the practice.

Already, though, it seems that a whiff of unorthodoxy was associated with it. In *Mediator Dei*, Pius XII briefly noted that Offertory processions had been introduced in many places. But the five lengthy paragraphs which immediately followed this comment are extremely interesting: Pius XII warned against a "dangerous error" regarding the way in which the faithful can be said to "offer" the Mass, and observed that some had gone so far as to assert that the people must "confirm and ratify the Sacrifice if it is to have its proper force and value."[34] What the pope implied seems clear enough — many advocates of the lay Offertory procession were promoting some of the ideas he condemned as erroneous.

During the long history of the Mass, the faithful in some regions did participate in a type of lay Offertory procession. But the current form which the procession takes in modern churches — a few lay representatives bringing the bread and wine to the celebrant — appears to be a typical Consilium production: the "restoration" of some liturgical form in a way in which it may never have existed in the first place. While the man in the pew may very well be told that the lay Offertory procession he sees every Sunday is a return to

30. Notre Dame Report no. 5, 5.
31. GI 69 §49, DOL 1439.
32. See Notre Dame Report no. 5, 5.
33. See, for example, Ellard, *Mass of the Future*, 280ff. He also reproduces photos of some typical pre-Conciliar processions in his *Mass in Transition*.
34. MD 95.

an ancient tradition, the most readily available commentaries on the New Mass appear to sidestep the question of how the present-day procession corresponds to what was done during the liturgy's first millennium.

This silence is perhaps understandable. Alan Clark pointed out that the Offertory processions mentioned in the ancient Roman liturgical texts were processions of the *clergy* and not of the laity,[35] and that "the historical evidence for the existence of a faithful's oblation of gifts is sparse and scattered."[36] The supposed historical antecedents for the New Mass's lay Offertory procession, then, appear highly questionable.

**2. Play-Acting.** But the new ceremony is a silly bit of play-acting in any case. In ancient times when a layman publicly presented bread and wine used at Mass, he provided it *himself.*

At the New Mass, however, the usual method is to have the church's sacristan place hosts and wine on a table in the back of the church. A group of laymen — who have never laid eyes on the hosts and wine before walking into the church that morning — then present "their" gifts to the celebrant during the procession. The procedure, Father Rouget lamented, "in reality consists only in making hosts pass from one receptacle to another"[37] — another production from the men who claimed to restore authentic liturgy according to "the principle of truth."[38]

In some places, this charade is not enough: "symbolic gifts" (a photo, a hockey stick, a teddy bear, even garbage) are brought forward with the bread and wine. The person presenting each symbolic gift may then be called upon to explain his symbol to the congregation. This practice resembles Show-and-Tell time in kindergarten.

## OFFERING THE VICTIM

The prayer for the offering of the host and the prayer for the offering of the chalice are the heart of the traditional Offertory Rite. After he has read the Offertory Chant, the priest silently recites the prayer *Suscipe Sancte Pater* as he offers the host:

> Accept, O holy Father, Almighty and eternal God,
> this unspotted Host,

35. "The Offertory Rite: A Recent Study," 246.
36. Ibid. 247.
37. *The New Mass: A Clear and Popular Explanation of the New Mass Liturgy* (New York: Catholic Book Publishing 1970), 99.
38. Study Group 10's internal working documents admitted that the rite they proposed was not really the ancient practice (see Barba, 259), and added that nevertheless *non despiciendus videtur* (it seems it should not be held in contempt) — not exactly a confident endorsement.

which I, Thy unworthy servant offer unto Thee, my living and true God,
for my innumerable sins, offenses and negligences
and for all here present;
as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead,
that it may benefit both me and them for salvation unto life everlasting.
Amen.

This prayer, the first recorded version of which appears in the ninth century,[39] is, says Gihr, "as terse in its composition as it is rich in thought."[40] It expresses a whole world of dogmatic truth about the Mass: the priest, as Christ's representative, offers the host (by anticipation, the Victim substantially present), to the Father. The sacrifice is offered for the priest's own sins, and for all the faithful, living and dead, that they obtain eternal salvation in heaven. Even Pius Parsch was impressed by the *Suscipe Sancte Pater*. "This prayer," he wrote in the 1940s, "so rich in doctrine, could serve as the basis for an entire treatise on the Mass."[41]

After the priest has prepared the chalice (see below) he offers it while reciting quietly the *Offerimus Tibi*:

We offer unto Thee, O Lord, the Chalice of salvation,
beseeching Thy clemency,
that it may ascend before Thy divine Majesty,
as a sweet odor for our salvation,
and for that of the whole world. Amen.

According to Archdale King, this prayer comes from the Mozarabic (Spanish) liturgy, and, beginning in the ninth century, appears in a number of Missals.[42] Like the *Suscipe Sancte Pater*, it forms a little catechism of Catholic teaching on the Eucharistic Sacrifice: The Mass makes satisfaction to God for sins, gives glory to the Most Blessed Trinity, implores the divine mercy, and is a means of grace and salvation for the Church's children, and ultimately for the whole world.

The doctrine that these two prayers contained was anathema to the leaders of the Protestant revolt, who denied the priest any hierarchical function, and who rejected the Catholic teaching that fruits of the Mass could be applied to the dead and those otherwise not present. The prayers expressed, moreover, the idea that the Mass is a sacrifice of propitiation — an "abomi-

39. TM, 305. It "occurs first (with slight variations) in the prayer book of Charles the Bald (875–7)."
40. HSM, 516.
41. *The Liturgy of the Mass*, 3rd ed. (London: Herder 1957), 185.
42. LRC, 284.

nation" to the Protestants. The identification of the *Suscipe Sancte Pater* with Catholic doctrine is so complete, in fact, that the Lutheran liturgist Reed called it "a perfect exposition of Roman Catholic doctrine on the sacrifice of the Mass."[43]

## BREAD OF LIFE, SPIRITUAL DRINK

Reed would have been hard put to say the same thing about the two new Presentation prayers — or about anything else in this section of the New Mass, for that matter.

The creators of the New Mass were determined that the old texts either had to go or be revised, and that even raising up the bread and wine with a gesture of offering should be changed into a gesture of a "solemn placing" of the gifts upon the altar.[44] Though initially, it seems, the revisers wanted no prayer at all for this "solemn placing," they feared that without one, some priests would perform the gesture too quickly.[45]

So, to accompany the presentation of the bread and the presentation of the wine, they provided two prayers as ritual speed bumps:

> **Priest:** Blessed are you, Lord, God of the universe,
> for through your goodness,
> we have received the bread [wine]
> we offer you,
> fruit of the earth [vine] and work of human hands,
> it will become for us the bread of life [our spiritual drink].
> **People:** Blessed be God for ever.

How does this compare with the old formulas?

**1. Indeterminate Expressions.** Where the old prayers summed up Catholic doctrine on the Mass by specifying what the bread and wine will become — Christ the victim for our sins, the Offering which will ascend before the Father "in a fragrance of sweetness" — the new formularies speak merely of the bread and wine becoming "the bread of life" and "our spiritual drink." These, the *Ottaviani Intervention* notes, are utterly indeterminate expressions, which could mean anything:

> Once again, we come up against the same basic equivocation. According to the new definition of the Mass, Christ is only spiritually present among

43. *The Lutheran Liturgy,* 312.
44. Barba, 264. "mutuando eorum elevationem in solemnem depositionem."
45. Barba, 265. "si é pensato che le preghiere di accompagnamento della 'deposito' dei doni preverrebbe da un'eventuale fretta poco decorosa."

> His own; here, bread and wine are only spiritually — and not substantially — changed.[46]

As usual, the change panders to ecumenism (by eradicating formulas offensive to heretics) and modernism (by obliterating the negative overtones of propitiation).

The indeterminate expressions for what the bread and wine would become were *deliberately* chosen. The original draft for the new presentation prayers, written by Father Jounel, specified that the bread would "become the *Body* of Thine Only-Begotten Son," and that the wine would become "the *Blood* of Our Lord, Jesus Christ."[47] These phrases at least presented clearly *one* aspect of traditional Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist. But they were stricken and replaced with "bread of life" and "spiritual drink."

Moreover, says the *Ottaviani Intervention*, the new presentation prayer:

> alters the nature of the sacrificial offering by turning it into a type of exchange of gifts between God and man. Man brings the bread, and God turns it into "the bread of life"; man brings the wine, and God turns it into "spiritual drink."[48]

Biblical scholar Father Ceslaus Spicq characterized the idea of offering material things such as bread and wine (instead of Christ) as a blasphemy.[49]

**2. Jewish Roots.** Since the creators of the New Mass could not find even *one* Offertory prayer in the Western Rite that did not employ the dreaded sacrificial terminology, where did they get their inspiration for the new text?

Jungmann says it is based on a Jewish table blessing probably used at the time of Christ, and reconstructed by modern Catholic scholars.[50] The text he quotes is identical, nearly word for word, to the following:

> Blessed are you, O Eternal, our God,
> King of the universe,
> Creator of the fruits of the earth.
> Blessed are you, O Eternal, our God,
> King of the universe,
> Creator of the fruit of the vine.

These formulas appear in the *Passover Haggadah*, and are among the prayers

46. OI, 37–8.
47. RL, 359n. "ut fiat unigeniti Filii tui corpus... ut sanguis fiat Domini nostri Iesu Christi."
48. OI, 37.
49. In a 1974 lecture at St. Pius X Seminary, Ecône, Switzerland.
50. TNM, 190.

that Jews recite over the plate of matzo bread and the cup of wine at the Seder meal on Passover.

**3. Teilhardian Overtones.** But with Consilium, not even a traditional Jewish grace was safe from updating.

The new presentation prayers, said Coughlan, are in fact "a combination." In addition to elements taken from Jewish ritual, they also embody an idea that Paul VI wanted expressed in the Preparation of the Gifts: "the concept of man's work consecrated to the Lord."[51] Hence, the new prayers refer to the bread and wine being offered as the product or fruit (*fructus*) of the work of human hands (*operis manuum hominum*).

> They clearly bring out the meaning of the action performed at that point — most fittingly, the value of human work, which includes all things human and implants them within the mystery of Christ.[52]

This notion, it turns out, originates with the writings of the Jesuit Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1954), paleontologist, evolutionist, modernist, pseudo-mystic, and crypto-pantheist,[53] whom we already met in our journey to the cosmic east.[54] Here is Teilhard on the idea of human work offered to God as matter for consecration at Mass:

> The true substance to be consecrated each day is the world's development during that day — the bread symbolizing appropriately what creation succeeds in producing, the wine (blood) what creation causes to be lost in exhaustion and suffering in the course of its effort.[55]
>
> I will place on my paten, O God, the harvest to be won by this renewal of labor. Into my chalice I shall pour all the sap which is to be pressed out this

51. PGC, 92. See also RL, 363–4.

52. "Documentorum Explicatio," *Notitiae* 6 (1970), 38. "aperte inducunt significationem actionis, quae illic agitur; bene valorem humani laboris, qui omnia humana comprehendit, immittit in Christi mysterium." Had the reformers strictly applied their own "principle of truth" here, however, the presentation formula for the wine would speak of it as the *operis pedum hominum* — the work of human feet.

53. Though the Holy Office in effect silenced Teilhard in 1925 and banned him from publishing anything on religious matters, his writings continued to circulate underground in modernist circles, especially in France. Despite a Monitum (warning) the Holy Office issued in 1962, several of his books were finally published and enjoyed great popularity in modernist circles during the heady days of Vatican II.

54. See above, Chapter 7.

55. Quoted in Thomas J. King, *Teilhard's Mass: Approaches to "Mass on the World"* (New York: Paulist 2005), 97.

day from the earth's fruits.[56]

All the things in the world to which this day will bring increase; all those which will diminish... This is the material of my sacrifice; the only material you desire... Receive, O Lord, this all-embracing host which your whole creation, moved by your magnetism, offers you at the dawn of a new day. This bread, our toil, is of itself but an immense fragment; this wine, our pain, is no more, I know, than a draught that dissolves...[57]

Do you now therefore, speaking through my lips, pronounce over this earthly travail your twofold efficacious word... This is my Body... This is my Blood.[58]

According to Catholic teaching, of course, the matter of the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist is wheaten bread and wine made from grapes — period. To imply, as the new prayers do, that "the work of human hands," like the bread and wine, is somehow consecrated at Mass is another example of the modernist trick of substitution and devaluation. It destroys the reality of the Consecration, degrades the Real Presence and renders meaningless the Church's teaching on the matter required for confecting the sacrament.[59]

**4. A Congregational Rite.** Two elements in the Presentation Prayers indicate a shift from a priestly rite to a congregational rite, thus adding another ecumenical touch.

First, the prayers may be said aloud and the congregation may respond to affirm the sentiments of the cheery little matzo prayer. There is no precedent for reciting the Offertory prayers for the host and chalice aloud; they were always *apologiae*, that is, devotional prayers recited quietly by the priest.

Second, the Presentation Prayers are phrased in the first person plural with a "we." This brings them into line with the theology of congregational concelebration.[60]

**5. Rubrical Changes.** Even the rubrical changes that accompanied the new Presentation Prayers were designed to efface the traditional notion of the

56. "Mass on the World," in King, 145.
57. "Mass on the World," in King, 146.
58. "Mass on the World," in King, 148.
59. Nor was Paul VI alone in embracing this weird idea: "The Eucharist is also celebrated in order to offer 'on the altar of the whole earth the world's work and suffering,' in the beautiful expression of Teilhard de Chardin." John Paul II, *Gift and Mystery* (Heidelberg Springer 1997), 73.
60. While the traditional prayer for offering the chalice also begins in the first person plural, it is so phrased because, as Fortescue notes, at Solemn Mass the priest and the deacon recite it together. See TM, 306.

Offertory. Here are some examples:

**(a) Eyes to the Cross.** At the traditional Mass, the priest raises his eyes to the crucifix ("to God," as O'Connell says) before reciting the prescribed prayers, a gesture which clearly signifies the sacrifice being offered to God.

This disappears in the Mass of Paul VI, perhaps because the prayers themselves no longer speak of sacrifice. (Or perhaps because the celebrant might spend too much time trying to find a crucifix in his renovated sanctuary.)

**(b) Corporal vs. Dish.** When the priest finishes the *Suscipe Sancte Pater* in the traditional Mass, he places the host on the corporal which rests on the altar; at Low Mass he then hides the paten under the corporal, while at Solemn Mass, he gives it to the subdeacon who, a moment later, takes it away from the altar altogether, a practice which goes back at least to the seventh century.[61] The paten reappears again only after the Our Father, when the "meal" part of the Mass commences.

In the New Mass, however, the bread remains in its dish-like paten throughout the entire service. While sacrifices offered to God are laid directly on an altar, a meal remains in a dish and is set on a table.

**(c) Offering Gesture.** The traditional rubrics speak of the priest "offering" both the paten with the host and the chalice.

In the rubrics for the new rite, the reference to "offering" the host is gone, and the General Instruction merely says that the priest "holds [the paten] slightly raised above the altar."[62] The New Order of Mass, said Brandolini quite emphatically, prescribes that raising the paten be done "in such a way that it is not associated — even through the [priest's] gestures — with the idea of an offering, but rather as a presentation only."[63]

**6. Analysis.** Where the traditional Offertory rite (1) withdrew from common use the bread and wine, and (2) offered by anticipation the *Divine Victim* in sacrifice, the new prayers for the Preparation of the Gifts in the Mass of Paul VI now speak of offering *bread* and *wine*, the work of human hands. This will become *bread of life* and *spiritual drink* — expressions deliberately substituted for the phrases "the *Body* of Thine Only-Begotten Son," and "the *Blood* of Our Lord, Jesus Christ." So, we offer — bread, wine and work.

In sum, the heart of the Catholic Offertory rite has been cut out and replaced with a weird organ of alien origin — a Jewish Seder prayer, updated with overtones of a Eucharistic heresy originating with a pantheist Jesuit, all

61. See LRC, 281–2.

62. GI 69 §102, DOL 1492.

63. "Aspetti Pastorali," 394. "in modo che non appaia, neppure dal gesto, che si tratta di una offerta, ma di una presentazione soltanto."

formulated to efface traditional Catholic teaching on the sacrificial nature of the Mass.

Welcome to another Consilium enrichment with "the tradition of the Fathers."

## PREPARING THE CHALICE

In the traditional Mass, wine is poured into the chalice and a drop of water is then added. All ancient peoples mixed water with the wine they drank and there is no doubt that Our Lord Himself used a mixed chalice at the Last Supper, hence the custom was incorporated into the Mass. Rather early in the Church's history, writers attached important symbolic meanings to the practice: St. Cyprian (+258) understood it as expressing the two natures of Christ or symbolizing the union of the people with Him.[64]

Before the drop of water is placed in the chalice, the priest first blesses it with a Sign of the Cross. Why bless just the water and not the wine? Gihr explains that the wine symbolizes Christ, who has no need of a blessing, while the water symbolizes the people, who need divine grace.[65]

While in the New Mass, adding a drop of water to the wine has been retained, the blessing has been abolished, and the traditional symbolism along with it — ecumenical liturgies should go easy on blessings, tied as they are to the concept of a sacrificing priesthood, and, in the modernist theological system the assembly is holy enough already, thank you.

The traditional text of the prayer that accompanied the preparation of the chalice, the *Deus Qui Humanae Substantiae*, is an ancient Roman Christmas oration, to which a reference to the water and wine has been added.[66] It was used widely in Germany at this point in the Mass, beginning in the ninth century.[67] In the New Mass, only part of the old prayer has been retained. The omissions are marked below with brackets:

[O God, who in creating human nature
hast wonderfully dignified it,
and still more wonderfully reformed it:

64. *Epistulae* 63.13, PL 4:384, cited in TM, 306.

65. HSM, 521. The blessing of water is, however, ommitted at Requiem Masses. Gihr explains: "The whole Requiem Mass rite, for instance, aims at giving to the departed souls the greatest possible assistance, hence much is omitted which refers to that fruit which those present, namely, the living, generally derive from the Mass. Thus, for example, the celebrant at the Introit makes the Sign of the Cross not over himself, but over the book, which here in a certain way represents the suffering souls, and at the conclusion of the Mass he does not bestow the blessing on those present. For the same reason, at the Offertory he omits to bless the water, that is, the people symbolized by the water."

66. MRR 2:62–3.

67. Tirot, 180.

grant that]
by the mystery of this water and wine,
may we be made partakers of the divine nature of Him,
who vouschafed to become partaker of our human nature,
[namely, Jesus Christ, Our Lord Thy Son,
who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost,
one God, world without end. Amen.]

In the traditional Mass, the priest himself recites the text. According to the General Instruction, for the Missal of Paul VI, however, the *deacon* now recites the prayer for preparing the chalice[68] — perhaps to avoid giving any impression whatsoever that something is being blessed.

Why omit the first part of the prayer? Perhaps because it speaks of God reforming human nature — an allusion to the negative thought that something went wrong in man in the first place.

## IN THE SPIRIT OF HUMILITY

After the priest has offered the chalice in the traditional Offertory Rite, he recites the prayer *In Spiritu Humilitatis*, based on Daniel 3:39–40, the prayer of the three young men cast into the Babylonian furnace. This was the first of two of the old Offertory prayers retained for the Preparation of the Gifts. The Latin text in the new Missal is unchanged:

May we, humble of spirit and contrite of heart,
be accepted by Thee, O Lord;
and grant that our sacrifice be so offered in Thy sight today,
that it may be pleasing unto Thee, O Lord God.

This prayer presented no difficulty whatsoever for the revisers, despite the fact that it contained the word "sacrifice." As Gihr notes in his commentary on the traditional Mass, the *In Spiritu Humilitatis* expresses the self-offering of the priest and the faithful.[69] It has been retained unchanged in the New Mass, says Jungmann, "for the very reason that it gives apt expression to the 'invisible sacrifice' of the heart as the interior meaning of all exterior offering."[70]

Absent the rest of the traditional Offertory prayers, this text can be accommodated to the classic Protestant teaching that the only real sacrifice in the Eucharist is the people's *sacrifice of themselves*. Here, for example, are some of the verses of scripture that were sung at the Lutheran service in the 1960s

68. GI 69 §132, DOL 1522.
69. HSM, 527–30.
70. TNM, 191.

while the minister prepared the bread and wine:

> The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit:
> a broken and contrite heart O God, thou wilt not despise...
>
> Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness...
>
> I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving...
>
> Create in me a clean heart O God: and renew a right spirit within me.[71]

If such were the sentiments expressed in a Lutheran service, then retaining the prayer for the New Mass's Preparation of the Gifts would not jeopardize ecumenical dialogue.

## COME, THE SANCTIFIER

Next, in the traditional Mass, the priest raises his eyes to the crucifix, and lowers them to look at the host and chalice while opening, raising and joining his hands to recite the *Veni Sanctificator*:

> Come, the Sanctifier, O Almighty and eternal God,
> and bless + this sacrifice,
> prepared for the glory of Thy Holy Name.

In this prayer, which first appears in an eighth or ninth century missal,[72] the priest asks that, by the operation of the Holy Ghost (the Sanctifier), the host and wine may become the Divine Victim through the miracle of transubstantiation. The accompanying gestures (raising, joining and lowering the hands, then blessing the offerings) correspond perfectly to the text, since they symbolize the coming down of the Holy Ghost.

The *Veni Sanctificator* does not exist in the Mass of Paul VI. It was removed because it refers to the gifts as "this sacrifice" — ecumenically unacceptable language that "anticipated" the Eucharistic Prayer.

There may be another reason for its disappearance. One pet theory of the revisers was that every Eucharistic Prayer had to contain an invocation of the Holy Ghost (the technical term is *epiklesis*), something they included in each of the new Eucharistic Prayers. Thus leaving the *Veni Sanctificator* in the new Presentation rite would also have "anticipated" the language of the Eucharistic Prayers.

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71. *Service Book and Hymnal*, authorized by the Lutheran Churches cooperating in The Commission on the Liturgy and Hymnal, music edition (Minneapolis: Augsburg 1958), 26–7.
72. Tirot, 187.

## INCENSATION PRAYERS

In the traditional rite of Solemn High Mass, the splendid and complex rite of incensation follows the *Veni Sanctificator*. The censing of the oblations at the Offertory, later expanded to include the altar, clergy and people, originated in France at least as early as the seventh century. The French custom, itself possibly based on the Byzantine liturgy, eventually came to be observed in Rome.[73] The outline of the form now found in the traditional Mass was used in some places already in the eleventh century.[74]

The appropriateness of using incense at Mass should be self-evident: it heightens the solemnity of the rite, it reminds us of purification and sanctification, it hearkens back to the sacrifices of the Old Testament and, above all, it symbolizes our prayer rising heavenward, together with the perfume of our good works.

**1. Traditional Texts**. The traditional rite consists of four prayers that allude to this symbolism, accompanied by a number of ritual actions appropriate to each. First, the priest places incense in the censer and blesses it quietly with the prayer *Per Intercessionem*:

> By the intercession of blessed Michael the Archangel,
> standing at the right hand of the altar of incense,
> and of all His elect [i.e., saints of God],
> may the Lord vouschafe to bless + this incense,
> and receive it as an odor of sweetness.
> Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Next, the deacon, having kissed the priest's hand, hands the censer to the priest, who makes three signs of the cross and three circles with it over the host and chalice as he says:

> May this + incense which Thou + has blessed,
> ascend + to Thee, O Lord,
> and may Thy mercy descend upon us.

The priest incenses the crucifix with three double swings, then any relics exposed on the altar, and then incenses the top, sides and front of the altar as he says the prayer *Dirigatur*, taken from Psalm 140:

> Let my prayer, O Lord,
> be directed as incense in Thy sight:

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73. LRC, 285.
74. See MRR 2:71–2.

and the lifting up of my hand
as the evening sacrifice.
Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth,
and a door about my lips.
That my heart may not incline to evil words
to make excuses in sins.

The priest gives the censer to the deacon, who kisses his hand, saying:

May the Lord enkindle within us the fire of His love,
and the flame of eternal charity. Amen.

The deacon then incenses the priest, the rest of the clergy and the subdeacon.

In the new rite, all the incensation prayers have been abolished, and a glance at the texts will tell you why. The *Per Intercessionem*, in addition to calling for the nearly abolished Sign of the Cross, mentions an angel (St. Michael) by name. The second prayer alludes to a blessing performed by Christ acting through an ordained priest, and mentions the descent of divine mercy, thus summoning up the thoroughly anti-ecumenical notions of a sacrificing priesthood and propitiation for sin through the Mass. The third prayer, the *Dirigatur*, mentions the negative thought that the human heart can be inclined to evil and make excuses for sins. And, as regards the fourth prayer, the fact that it is beautifully phrased in Latin is probably sufficient to account for its disappearance.

**2. Rubrical Directions.** The General Instruction gave no directions for how the incensation was to be carried out during the Preparation of the Gifts, except to say that the gifts and the altar itself may be incensed, and afterwards the deacon or another minister may incense the priest and the people.[75]

In 1978 someone got around to asking the Sacred Congregation of Divine Worship if the old rubrics should be followed for the incensation. The Congregation answered rather peevishly, no, of course not, and provided some new guidelines.[76] In 2002, a new edition of the General Instruction reintroduced the use of some of the old incensation rubrics.[77]

The use of incense is rare at the New Mass anyway, since it is optional and requires that the priest do a little extra work.[78]

75. GI 69 §51, DOL 1441; §105, DOL 1495.

76. Three swings toward the gifts, as at the Gospel; three swings when passing the cross and continuously while passing around the altar. See *Notitiae* 14 (1978), 301–2, no. 2.

77. GI 02, §277. The priest is now supposed to bless the incense after he puts it into the thurible. Double and single swings are now prescribed.

78. In the late 60s and early 70s, when I played the organ several times a Sunday in various parishes throughout my diocese, I remember incense being used just once a year, at the Christmas Midnight Mass.

## THE WASHING OF HANDS

In both the traditional Mass and the New Mass, the celebrant next goes to the side of the altar for a ritual washing of his hands.

The custom appears in some of the oldest liturgical documents we possess, though not always at the same point in the Mass. In Jerusalem during the fourth century, for instance, the washing of the hands took place as the Mass of the Faithful began, a practice also prescribed in the fifth century *Apostolic Constitutions*. In Rome the exact position of the rite in the Mass was not fixed for some time; some documents relate that the ceremony was performed twice during the course of the Mass, once at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful and again after the incensation of the offerings.[79]

What the rite symbolizes should be fairly obvious: The outward washing of the hands stands for interior purification and cleansing of the whole man from whatever sullies soul and body.

The text selected to accompany this gesture in the traditional Mass was the one most commonly used throughout the history of the Mass: Psalm 25:6–12, called the *Lavabo*. It is found in the West as early as the eleventh century, as well as in the liturgies of the East.[80] Here is the traditional text:

> I will wash my hands among the innocent:
> and I will compass thine altar, O Lord.
> That I may hear the voice of thy praise,
> and tell of all Thy wondrous works.
> O Lord, I have loved the beauty of Thy house,
> and the place where Thy glory dwelleth.
> Take not away my soul, O God, with the wicked,
> nor my life with men of blood.
> In whose hands are iniquities:
> their right hand is filled with bribes.
> But as for me, I have walked in my innocence:
> redeem me and be merciful unto me.
> My foot hath stood in the right way:
> in the churches I will bless Thee, O God.
> Glory be...

In the Mass of Paul VI the old formulary was scrapped and replaced with the following verse from Psalm 50:

> Wash me, O Lord, from my iniquity,
> and cleanse me from my sin.

79. For a detailed discussion of the historical question, see MRR 2:76–82 and TM, 309–11.
80. LRC, 289.

It seems odd that the men who decreed that "the treasures of the Bible are to be opened up more lavishly" would remove the traditional text. Why did they do it? The explanation, I think, is two-fold:

(1) Psalm 25 employs the word "soul" (which has nearly disappeared in the new Missal) and the word "altar" (which disappeared elsewhere from the Order of the Mass); it alludes, moreover, to such negative ideas as losing one's soul and wicked men who will be punished for their crimes. Once again, these are notions incompatible with modernist theology.

(2) The prayer is relatively long. Formulas recited quietly by the celebrant had to be pared down since they diminish the attention now lavished upon the celebrating assembly, crimp presidential style, and generally smack of the now-forgotten teaching that the priest and the priest alone truly offers the sacrifice.

Thus, with the old psalm abolished, the new ceremony of the washing of the hands is now "more in accord with the language of modern theology," where wickedness, damnation and a real sacrificing priesthood have more or less disappeared.

## RECEIVE, O HOLY TRINITY

After the *Lavabo* in the traditional Mass, the priest returns to the center of the altar, bows, and quietly recites the *Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas*:

> Receive, O Holy Trinity, this Oblation, which we offer unto Thee,
> in memory of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension
> of our Lord Jesus Christ,
> and in honor of the blessed Mary ever Virgin,
> of blessed John the Baptist,
> of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul,
> of these and of all the Saints;
> that it may be to their honor and to our salvation:
> and may they vouschafe to intercede for us in heaven,
> whose memory we celebrate on earth.
> Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

This prayer, attributed in one ancient Missal to St. Ambrose (+397), came into widespread use beginning in the ninth century. It was probably adopted in Rome in the thirteenth century, and after 1570 it came to be accepted everywhere. Archdale King says it "may be said, in a way, to 'sum up the offertory.'"[81] Gihr observes that the *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas* develops and perfects the prayers which precede it. The prayers for offering the host and

81. LRC, 290.

the chalice were directed to the Father, and the Invocation was directed to the Holy Ghost; in this prayer, the host and chalice are offered jointly under a new aspect. It connects the Eucharistic Sacrifice both to the mysteries of the life of Christ (His Passion, Resurrection and Ascension) and to the intercession of the saints of heaven.[82]

Despite its antiquity (or perhaps because of it), the *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas* is not found in the New Mass's Preparation of the Gifts. It refers to the offerings on the altar as an oblation, directed to our salvation — it thus anticipates the sacrifice, and "reeks" of the ideas Luther condemned.

Moreover, the prayer, mentions saints by name (Our Lady, St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul), speaks of honoring them through the Mass, and reminds us that saints intercede for us in heaven. So, another minefield on the road to ecumenical convergence disappeared from the map.

## PRAY, BRETHREN

In both the traditional Mass and the Mass of Paul VI, the priest begins the prayer *Orate Fratres*:

> **Priest:** Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours
> may be acceptable to God, the Father Almighty.
> **People:** May the Lord receive the sacrifice from thy hands,
> to the praise and glory of his name, to our benefit,
> and to that of all His holy Church.

The new Missal changed the procedure for reciting the prayer: the priest says the first part of the formula aloud in its entirety, and the whole congregation now responds. In the traditional Mass, however, the priest recites only the first two words aloud (but in a subdued voice), finishes his part silently and turns back toward the altar, after which the sacred ministers or the servers make the response, followed by the priest's Amen.

On this point, does the New Mass restore to the people something that was usurped long ago by the clergy? Apparently not. Jungmann says that the first example of the prayer, found in an eighth century source, shows it was addressed to the priests standing around the altar.[83] The priest, moreover, recited it in a subdued voice — hardly an introduction for a congregational prayer.

Conservative commentators regarded the inclusion of the *Orate Fratres* in the New Mass as proof that the new rite faithfully reflects the Church's constant teaching on the Eucharist. Father Guy Oury, in a 1975 reply to

82. HSM, 544.
83. MRR 2:82.

traditionalist critiques, pointed to the word "sacrifice" in the prayer as clear evidence of the New Mass's sacrificial character.[84] But, like the *In Spiritu Humilitatis*, also retained in the new Preparation of the Gifts, "sacrifice" can be interpreted as the congregation's self-offering — rather than the offering of the Divine Victim — or as the "Sacrifice of prayse and thankes geuing" spoken of in Cranmer's 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*.[85]

Oury asserts, moreover, that the phrase "my sacrifice and yours" which the priest still addresses to the congregation establishes a clear distinction "between the royal priesthood of the faithful and the ministerial priesthood of the priest, which are not on the same level."[86] But the phrase is part of an "introduction" or an "admonition" to the congregation — and the new legislation says that "by their nature such introductions do not require that they be given verbatim in the form they have in the Missal," hence the celebrant is free to "adapt them to the actual situation of a community."[87] (It was rendered in the first official English translation as "our sacrifice.") Hence the phrase "my sacrifice and yours" is merely an option, to be followed or ignored as the celebrant sees fit.

For this, as for everything else in the New Mass, a Father Retreaux will "Say the black, do the red." A Father Chuck, on the other hand, will always come up with a warmer, more assembly-friendly version. Either way, the new rubric is *quidlibet* — whatever!

## THE SECRET

After the *Orate Fratres* in the traditional Mass, the priest recites a brief prayer proper to the Sunday or feast, called the Secret.

The term "Secret" at first seems a bit puzzling to English-speakers — Webster's, after all, defines "secret" as "kept from, or acting without the knowledge of others." (If it's printed in my Latin-English missal, what's so secret about it?) Actually, the prayer is so called because for centuries the priest recited it quietly — *secrete* in Latin — a practice still observed when the traditional Mass is celebrated.

A seventh-century description of a papal Mass provides perhaps the first written account of reciting a special prayer at this point in the Mass: when the pope finished the Offertory rites, a signal was given to the choir to cease its chant; the pope then recited a prayer before beginning the chant of the Preface.[88] The document indicates that the prayer was chanted aloud. But another

84. *La Messe de S. Pie V à Paul VI* (Solesmes: 1975), 58.
85. See Thompson, 281.
86. *La Messe*, 90.
87. See *Eucharistiae Participationem*, §14, DOL 1988.
88. MRR 1:72.

source from approximately the same period[89] refers to the prayer as the Secret, thus hinting that the priest may have recited it silently.

In any event, the quiet recitation of the prayer gradually came to be taken for granted throughout the French kingdom from the eighth century onwards, so that, as one ancient source says, "no one but [the priest] and God alone might hear it."[90]

A Secret is always a part of a set of three orations, the other two being the Collect and the Post-Communion. Generally, a Secret petitions God for two things: first, that the oblations on the altar be sanctified and consecrated, and second, that the graces of the Sacrifice be bestowed upon men. Like the other orations, the Latin of the Secrets combines an incomparable beauty and balance with a delightful economy of language. Occasionally these qualities come across even in translation. Witness the following Secret for the feast of Pentecost:

> Sanctify, we beseech Thee, O Lord, these oblations,
> and purify our hearts by the light of the Holy Ghost.

A priest who has said the traditional Mass for a number of years (or indeed an attentive layman) will marvel at the contents of the Secret. The Secrets are intimately connected with the day's celebration, be it a Sunday, a Lenten ferial day, a feast commemorating a saint, or some other mystery of the Church's liturgical year. The note of propitiation, as Gihr observed, frequently holds a prominent place in the Secrets. But this is not the only element present, as can readily be seen by scanning a number of the prayers; their ever-changing content manifests the inexhaustible eloquence of the heavenly wisdom of the Church.[91]

If the Sunday or feast day is of a lower liturgical rank, or if the liturgical calendar contains an additional observance for the day, the rubrics in the traditional Mass prescribe that additional Secrets be recited to commemorate the lower-ranking feast, the occurring saint's day, or other various needs of the Church. After he recites the last Secret, the priest sings or says aloud "For ever and ever" (*Per omnia saecula saeculorum*). The choir or server responds with an Amen, and the priest goes on to begin the Preface.

## THE PRAYER OVER THE GIFTS

In the New Mass, the term "Secret" has disappeared. The prayer recited after the *Orate Fratres* is now called the Prayer over the Gifts (*Oratio super*

89. The Gelasian Sacramentary. Thompson, 36, puts its date of composition between 604 and 731, but states that it may in fact have taken shape during the reign of Pope Gelasius (492–6).
90. See MRR 2:90ff.
91. HSM, 450.

*Oblata*), and the celebrant, as one would expect, says it aloud — a practice at least a thousand years old thus disappears to accommodate the innovators' implacable desire for intelligibility, brought to you by the Gigantic Voice.

The Secrets in the traditional Missal received pretty much the same treatment from the revisers as did the Collects: the order of their recitation has been shifted around to accommodate the freshly-despoiled liturgical calendar, some have been edited to accommodate "the language of modern theology," and some have just plain disappeared. Additional prayers selected from ancient liturgical sources (the Leonine Sacramentary, the Gregorian Sacramentary, etc.) have been added, albeit purged in many cases of insufficiently sunny sentiments.

Wading through each and every Prayer over the Gifts in the Latin version of 1970 Missal and comparing each with its alleged original source is beyond the scope of this study. Fortunately we can get a fairly clear understanding of how the innovators proceeded from an article written in 1970 by Father Vincenzo Raffa, the member of Consilium responsible for editing and arranging the Prayers over the Gifts for the new Missal's Proper of the Time (Advent, Christmas, Lent, etc.).[92]

**1. New Theology.** As usual, there is the arrogant tone of the modernist, the subtle denigration of the traditional Missal. Modern scholarship has liberated us from a thousand-year-old darkness and spiritual poverty. Now, says Raffa, there are "new criteria," the changes were necessary to give Sundays "the importance they deserved," the horizon of the liturgical year had to be "enlarged," the Mass has now been "enriched," etc., etc.

The "enrichment" and "restoration" of the old Secrets involved certain changes which, said Raffa, were "dictated by the new theology."[93] Thus, as in the new Collects, the notion of fasting and corporal penance was excised from the Prayers over the Gifts recited in Lent.[94] Excessively "negative" thoughts about the dangers of worldliness and about sin have been diluted.[95]

Texts from Consilium's much-touted ancient sources were similarly sanitized. A Secret from the old Leonine Sacramentary contained the petition that we "be purified from the [moral] infections of the world." But the man of today, said Raffa, believes that earthly reality is fundamentally sacred; the

92. "Le Orazioni sulle Offerte del Proprio del Tempo nel Nuovo Messale," EL 84 (1970), 299–321.
93. Ibid. 307.
94. See ibid. 304–6.
95. Cf. for example, some texts of the *Orationes super oblata* with their alleged sources in the old Missal: M70, 164 & M723 (*nosque a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda*); M70, 189 & M908 (*ut a terrenis cupiditatibus liberati, ad caelestia desideria transeamus*); M70, 195 & M1044 (*purget*); M70, 200 & M605 (*non gravemur externis*).

phrase would appear "severe" and would "collide with modern sensibilities." Hence the petition now merely asks that we "be freed from *the allurements* of the world."[96]

Another Secret from the Gregorian Sacramentary asked that the offering of the Sacrifice of the Mass increase our devotion and bring about our salvation. The petition was changed; the reference to devotion was dropped and the petition now asks for "the salvation of the whole world." Why? Well, Raffa said, "Today the horizon has broadened; its spirit is ecumenical and universalist, thus more in tune with the spirit of our age."[97] Indeed.

**2. Sacrificial Language.** Many of the Secrets in the traditional Missal use terms which allude to the sacrificial and propitiatory character of the Mass: in the Temporal Cycle, *victim* appears 31 times, *sacrifice* 39 times and *immolation* four times.[98] How did these texts fare in the Latin version of the new Missal?

First, some of the sacrificial language has been toned down. The idea of immolation (*immolatio*, and *immolare*), for instance, causes ecumenical red alerts everywhere. It disappeared from the Prayers over the Gifts for the Saturday after Ash Wednesday, the 12th Sunday in Ordinary Time[99] and Easter Sunday.[100]

Second, many of the old Secrets were retained in the new Missal, and many were left unchanged — hence about 45 of the approximately 118 Prayers over the Gifts in the new Proper of the Season contain some sort of sacrificial language.[101]

Now, here we come up against an inconsistency: on one hand, Consilium abolished the traditional prayers for offering the host and the chalice by claiming that they "unduly anticipated" sacrificial language found in the Canon; on the other, Consilium retained a whole group of prayers which contain equally "anticipatory" language. Why the contradiction?

The only possible explanation is that the reformers' objection to the old prayers because of "undue anticipation" was utterly phony. The *real* problem

96. "Le Orazioni sulle Offerte," 308.

97. Ibid. 310. "Ora l'orizzonte si allarga, prendendo un respiro ecumenico ed universalistico, così rispondente alle aspirazioni del nostro tempo."

98. Tirot, 342.

99. Cf. M70, 183, 351 (*Suscipe, Domine, sacrificium placationis et laudis*) & M1121 (*Suscipe, Domine, sacrificium, cujus te voluisti dignanter immolatione placari*).

100. Cf. M70, 291 (*sacrificia... offerimus*) & M1002 (*sacrificia... immolamus*). Cf. also the final text of the new Missal's *Oratio super Oblata, In Exequiis A. Extra Tempus Paschale* with the original found in the Leonine Sacramentary, in Ashworth, "The Prayers for the Dead...," 13.

101. See M70, 130, 131, 143, 158, 167, 168, 180, 181, 182, 183, 190, 192, 196, 197, 200, 203, 204, 212, 214, 216, 219, 220, 221, 235, 237, 241, 246, 287, 291, 295, 296, 304, 307, 308, 341, 351, 355, 357, 360, 366, 367, 370, 371, 380.

with the *Suscipe Sancte Pater* and the *Offerimus Tibi* was not that they anticipated the Canon, but that they expressed Catholic Eucharistic doctrine clearly, precisely and invariably, day in and day out — and as such, posed a standing obstacle to ecumenical endeavors and the propagation of modernist assembly theology.

**3. And... More Talk!** Once the priest at the New Mass has finished reading the Prayer over the Gifts, the assembly responds with an Amen.

But the Preparation of the Gifts is not necessarily over, because according to the new rules, the priest then has an opportunity to add a few comments of his own.[102]

Father Chuck can personalize the moment with his own comments, or throw in some talking points from Ms. Gauleiter, which (if they are particularly outrageous) Father Retreaux may be tempted to counter at a later Mass with pious thoughts from Mother Angelica.

In either case, this will allow the priest to explain in the vernacular what has *already* been said in the vernacular or what *will* be said in the vernacular. The "talking Church" strikes again, repeating its message to an assembly deemed inattentive, stupid, hard of hearing, or all of the above.

## SUMMARY

• In the new rite, the nomenclature for the second part of the Mass, the Mass of the Faithful, has been changed to "Liturgy of the Eucharist," a new term invented, most likely, for ecumenical reasons.

• There are three elements common to all Offertory Rites: the sacrifice is prepared, the sacrifice is directed to a determined end, and the offering of the sacrifice is begun.

• The Offertory Rite of the traditional Mass and other related rites in the West contain sacrificial language (e.g., Victim) that anticipates the actual consecration of the elements.

• The prayers and ceremonial actions of the traditional Offertory rite relate to a two-fold object: (1) Withdrawing the bread and wine from common use. (2) Offering the Divine Victim to the Divine Majesty, as if the consecration of the sacrificial elements had taken place, in expectation of the effects that will flow from offering the Divine Victim.

• Luther and other Protestants explicitly repudiated the Catholic Offertory Rite because of this anticipatory language, and in formulating their communion services, replaced it with a simple direction to prepare the bread and wine.

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102. See *Eucharistiae Participationem*, §14, DOL 1988.

• The New Mass replaces the Offertory Rite with a Preparation of the Gifts. Its creators defended this substitution by lying about the nature of the rite (a lay ceremony) and repeating the "anticipation" objection of Luther. The real motive, though, was to eliminate a rite that "jeopardized ecumenical dialogue."

• Though Pius XII mentioned the lay Offertory procession in *Mediator Dei*, he devoted the following five paragraphs to condemning a "dangerous error" about the role of the laity in "offering" the Mass.

• Historically, Offertory processions pertained primarily to the clergy, rather than to the laity; but in any case, the practice followed in the New Mass is nothing more than play-acting — "shifting hosts from one receptacle to another."

• The traditional Offertory prayers for the bread and wine constitute "a perfect exposition of Roman Catholic doctrine on the sacrifice of the Mass." Luther said they were "an abomination."

• The Presentation Prayers for the bread and wine in the New Mass's Preparation of the Gifts (1) incorporate indeterminate expressions about what the bread and wine will become; (2) are based on a Jewish Seder prayer; (3) incorporate a heretical notion, originating in the writings of the pantheist Jesuit Teilhard de Chardin, that human work becomes the "matter" for the sacrifice of the Mass; (4) indicate a shift from a priestly rite to a congregational rite; (5) in place of the Divine Victim, speak of offering *bread* and *wine*, the work of human hands, which will become *bread of life* and *spiritual drink.*

• The traditional prayers for preparing the chalice, calling down the Holy Ghost upon the sacrifice, incensing the oblata and altar, and washing the priest's hands were either eliminated or edited in order to remove "negative" ideas repugnant to modernist theology or sacrificial language repugnant to Protestants.

• The sacrificial language in one of the prayers retained (*In Spiritu Humilitatis*) was deemed acceptable because it refers only to a spiritual sacrifice of self. Similar language appears in the Lutheran liturgy, so the old formulation was acceptable.

• The prayer in the traditional Offertory Rite "Receive, O Holy Trinity" sums up and perfects the prayers that precede it, and begs for the intercession of various saints by name. It was eliminated for the same reason as the rest of the prayers.

• The "Pray, brethren" has been retained, but it, too, can be interpreted as the congregation's self-offering. The introduction to the prayer that speaks of "my sacrifice and yours" can be replaced at will with another invitation to pray.

• The Secrets have been re-designated "Prayers over the Gifts." They were

edited in such a way as to tone down certain sacrificial expressions and, generally, to implement changes "dictated by the new theology." Prayers taken from ancient sacramentaries were edited to make their spirit "ecumenical and universalist, thus more in tune with the spirit of our age."

Overall, the only victim offered in the new Presentation of Gifts is Catholic doctrine — a "living sacrifice" to ecumenism in a rite reeking not of oblation but of Luther and Teilhard.

Chapter 12

# The Eucharistic Prayer: "Deplorable Impoverishment"

One of the minor annoyances of the post-Vatican II liturgical reforms was the change in terminology and labeling for just about everything. It wasn't just the Introit, the Gloria, the Alleluia, or the Creed anymore; it had to be the Entrance Song, the Hymn of the Angels, the Gospel Acclamation and the Profession of Faith. An old term wouldn't do where you could cook up a new one, preferably of several syllables, and ideally, as didactic as possible.

Even people whose connection with actually performing the liturgy was rather remote needed to be relabeled: I was no longer just an organist — I was a Minister of Music. The man who showed people to a pew was not just an usher — he was a Minister of Hospitality or Greeting.

Sometimes, however, the change in labeling reflected a real change in the thing itself. This was the case with the Offertory rite, as we saw in the last chapter. The old rite and the function it served (preparing the sacrifice, directing it to a determined end, beginning the offering of the sacrifice) was gone, and something new was substituted, so the old label was no longer appropriate. "Offertory" had to give way to "Preparation of the Gifts."

So too, the subject of this chapter, the Eucharistic Prayer, which replaced what was formerly called the Canon.

All the historical liturgies in both the East and the West place the words of consecration in the context of a longer prayer of one type or another. These liturgies used a variety of names for this prayer: *anaphora*, *eucharistia*, Prayer of Offering, Eucharistic Prayer, etc. In the Mass of the Roman Rite, the term used to designate this prayer was *Canon actionis*, or simply, the Canon.

"Canon" is the Greek word for a norm or a rule. It also has overtones of "fixed measure" or "yardstick," and its use is not limited to liturgical contexts. The canon of Scripture, for example, is the fixed or normative list the Church issued to designate which writings belong to Holy Scripture.

In the Mass, Pope Benedict XIV said that the Church uses this expression "to signify that the Canon of the Mass is the *firm rule* according to which the Sacrifice of the New Testament must be celebrated."[1] Here too, the term implied something virtually unchangeable.

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1. *De Sacrosancto Missae Sacrificio*, II.12, *Opera Omnia* (Prado: Aldina 1843), 8:73. My emphasis.

Since one of Consilium's goals for the reform of the Mass was to change or replace the Roman Canon, retaining the old nomenclature would have created a fundamental contradiction in terms. The new label the revisers settled on for the prayer was the "Eucharistic Prayer" (*Prex Eucharistica*). The change in terminology may seem like a small thing, but the Roman Church had called the prayer the Canon for at least 1600 years.[2]

Having changed the name for the prayer, the revisers changed its limits as well. The "Canon" traditionally meant the great prayer that began after the Sanctus (Holy, Holy) and ended with the Amen of the prayer *Per Ipsum* (Through Him, with Him). The Preface, however, was now designated as the beginning of the Eucharistic Prayer, which would also henceforth include the Sanctus as well.

In this chapter we will discuss the following: (1) The Preface. (2) The Sanctus. (3) The origins of the Roman Canon. (4) The movement to change the Canon. (5) The silent recitation of the Canon. (6) The dispute over the mistranslation of *multis* in the Words of Consecration. (7) The promulgation of the new Eucharistic Prayers. (8) The content of the new Eucharistic Prayers. (9) Changes in the Words of Consecration.

## THE PREFACE

After the Prayer over the Gifts (called the Secret in the traditional rite), the priest sings or recites a short introductory dialogue (The Lord be with you, etc.) and proceeds to the Preface.

A Preface — the root of the word derives either from the notion of "a speech before something" or from *praefari* (to chant aloud)[3] — is a prayer of thanksgiving which varies according to the feast or liturgical season. It contains three elements: (1) Homage to God the Father. (2) Enumeration of the reasons for thanksgiving.[4] (3) Evocation of the angels.[5]

In the Church's early centuries, there was a tendency to provide a proper Preface for every Mass formulary. The ancient Gelasian Sacramentary, for instance, contained 54 Prefaces. The lion's share of Prefaces belonged to the feasts of martyrs, but other feasts and particular needs were covered as well. Sometimes things got a little too specific: among the 267 Prefaces in the Leonine Sacramentary, we find one that is a long and violent attack on monks.[6]

By about the eleventh century the number of Prefaces in the Roman

2. See LRC, 305.
3. LRC, 296.
4. The Common Preface omits this section.
5. Jungmann, MRR 2:123, sees in the Preface of the Trinity a profession of faith rather than a prayer of thanksgiving properly speaking.
6. LRC, 298. It was too early, alas, for one on Jesuits.

books was reduced to ten. This remained the norm until the twentieth century when the Prefaces of St. Joseph, the Dead, Christ the King and the Sacred Heart were added. Certain countries and places (*aliquibus locis*) had the privilege of using a number of additional Prefaces.[7]

One could have made a good argument for introducing some of the latter into general use throughout the Church. Typically however, the creators of the New Mass cast restraint to the winds, and came up with another dizzying array of options: the 1970 edition of the Missal contains 81 Prefaces. Three more were added in 1975.

The General Instruction does not lay down any firm rules as to which Preface is to be used when.[8] Here, as with so many other options in the New Mass, the text chosen is determined solely by what the priest on the scene views as "pastorally effective."[9]

In his Apostolic Constitution promulgating the new Missal, Paul VI said that the great number of Prefaces are "drawn from the early tradition of the Roman Church or recently composed."[10] This is the customary appeal to antiquity. And again, as in the case of the new orations and the revised lectionary, we discover that it is antiquity with a modern twist.

In their 600-page work that documents the sources for the new Prefaces, Fathers Ward and Johnson state that the revisers adopted a conscious policy of forming new texts out of "a *mosaic of phrases* from the liturgical tradition."[11] The new Prefaces, therefore, are not a restoration of ancient texts that had fallen into disuse, but rather are new compositions "based on" ancient texts.

But why not just use the ancient texts? The answer from Consilium's experts will sound depressingly familiar. The principle followed for choosing texts, said Father Dumas, was laid down by Vatican II: that of responding to "pastoral needs." Thus the texts selected had to be ones that could be "adapted to the modern mentality." Therefore, he said, only a few texts were retained integrally — otherwise "the better texts, reproduced in their original form, would have been unbearable, if not defective."[12] So, in the new Prefaces we get "the early tradition of the Roman Church" — but only where early tradition is not unbearable.

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7. LRC, 298–9.

8. The closest one gets is the vague observation in GI 69 §321, DOL 1711.

9. See the Instruction's general comments on the choice of texts, GI 69 §313, DOL 1703.

10. Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum*, DOL 1360.

11. Anthony Ward SM & Cuthbert Johnson OSB, "The Sources of the Roman Missal (1975) II: Prefaces," *Notitiae* 252–4 (1987), 423. My emphasis.

12. Antoine Dumas OSB, "Les Préfaces du Nouveau Missel," EL 85 (1971), 19. Similarly, Braga, "Il Nuovo Messale Romano," 271.

## THE SANCTUS

In both the traditional Mass and the Mass of Paul VI, the last words of the Preface lead directly into the Sanctus (Holy, Holy):

> Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.
> Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.
> Hosanna in the highest.
> Blessed is He who comes in the name of the Lord.
> Hosanna in the highest.

The text, based on Isaias 6:3, was used in the Eastern Church at least as early as the third quarter of the fourth century. The Latin Fathers of the same period who commented on the passage in Isaias made no reference to its liturgical use.[13]

Liturgical scholars appear to be divided on exactly when the Sanctus was introduced into the liturgy at Rome, and as to whether it was sung there by the people. In any event, by the eighth century we find that at Rome the Sanctus was not sung by the celebrant and people, but by the regionary subdeacons.[14]

In the traditional Mass the priest recites the Sanctus and immediately begins the Canon. (At Solemn Mass the deacon and subdeacon also recite it.) At High Mass, while the priest is quietly reciting the Sanctus and beginning the Canon, the choir sings the text. The rubrics prescribe that the priest make a moderate bow as he says the prayer, and make a sign of the cross at the phrase "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."

In the Mass of Paul VI the priest and the congregation are supposed to sing or recite the Sanctus together.[15] If the congregation must sing the Sanctus, it follows, of course, that the melodies employed must be quite simple. The more complex Gregorian settings of the Sanctus (presuming any modern liturgy planners would want to use them) must then be discarded, as must the vast treasure trove of polyphonic musical settings composed for choirs from the sixteenth century onwards.

Thus, the insistence that the Sanctus be a congregational song is another one of those little details that utterly divorce the new rite from a large part of what came before it.

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13. Cabié, 95.
14. LRC, 301. Cf. Cabié 95, MRR 2:128–9.
15. GI 69 §55, DOL 1445; GI 69 §108, DOL 1498. See also SC Rites, Instruction *Musicam Sacram*, on music in the liturgy, 5 March 1967, §34, DOL 4155; SC Divine Worship, *Ordo Cantus Missae*, Introduction, 24 June 1974, §14, DOL 4293.

## ORIGINS OF THE ROMAN CANON

Liturgical scholars cannot with any certainty trace the history of the Roman Canon back beyond a certain point in time. We know, for instance, that the text of the Roman Canon in the traditional Missal comes down to us untouched since the sixth century,[16] when Pope St. Gregory added to the text the phrase "order our days in Thy peace."[17] But apart from that, we have only conflicting theories and conjectures.

Pope Vigilius (537–55) says that the Roman Canon had been handed down "by apostolic tradition."[18] Archdale King says it is impossible to endorse apostolic authorship — he does not say why — but he adds nevertheless that the Canon is certainly in many parts of extreme antiquity. It contains no traces of the third-century disputes over the person and divinity of Christ, he notes, while at the same time employing certain other expressions which witness to an early date.[19]

The core of the Roman Canon, according to Jungmann, must have existed by the end of the 300s.[20] We do not have a direct witness for this from Rome itself, but rather a text from Milan that is a genuine work of St. Ambrose († 397).[21] Jungmann traces other prayers in the Canon to the fifth and sixth centuries.[22]

Naturally, therefore, the identity of who composed the original version of the Roman Canon is likewise hidden from us, and has been the object of much speculation. At first the Roman Canon may have been the translation of a now-lost Greek anaphora (canon), or connected to a prayer preserved in Greek and Syriac, and attributed to the apostle St. James. Authorship has also been attributed to Pope St. Damasus (366–84), Pope Gelasius (492–6), and the fourth-century writer Firmicus Maternus. Pope St. Gregory (590–604), it has also been said, may have edited the text and added more to it than the one phrase cited above.[23]

We cannot hope to solve any of these riddles here. We mention these various points about the origins of the Roman Canon merely to demonstrate how deeply rooted it is in Catholic history and tradition — a consideration, as we shall see, that did not particularly trouble those who wanted to destroy it.

A vast body of literature has been written on the Roman Canon, more-

16. LRC, 309.
17. "Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas." EEFL 853.
18. Vigilius, *Epistola ad Profuturum*, PL 69:18, cited LRC, 306.
19. LRC, 306—7.
20. MRR 1:51.
21. *De Sacramentis*, 4.21–7, EEFL 413.
22. MRR 1:54–5. See also: Cabié, 89–90; Mazza, *Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, 57–9.
23. LRC, 306–9.

over — enough books, perhaps, to fill several libraries — and we cannot even begin to discuss the theological and spiritual riches the Canon contains. For this we refer the reader to authors such as Father Gihr,[24] Ross Williamson,[25] and Father Gassner.[26] Unlike commentators of the stripe of Josef Jungmann, these writers take the Canon as it is, and not as a problem-laden text implicitly in need of "reform."

## THE MOVEMENT TO CHANGE THE CANON

Well before Vatican II, some in the Liturgical Movement had already targeted the Roman Canon for destruction. As we have already noted, in the late 1940s Jungmann had already proposed shortening the Canon and revising the lists of saints it contained.[27] Emminghaus's comment illustrates the mentality of the would-be reformers:

> For the simple worshipper whom the Liturgical Movement was urging to become once again an active participant in the liturgy, the Canon contained too many obstacles for him to see in it an expression of the praise of God which he, at the end, could authentically call his own by his "Amen". The defects were many... [most striking was] its poverty of content.... The intercessions... were regarded as essential precisely because a stipend had been paid for them. The lists of saints were utterly uninspiring. Did anyone call upon Linus, Cletus, Clement, Cornelius, or Cyprian as intercessors in their daily needs... No wonder, then, that this veneration became heavily folkloric or even superstitious.[28]

As regards the real motives for changing the Canon, we can group them under the two depressingly familiar main divisions: ecumenism and modernism. The principles for liturgical reform that Vatican II put into place made it almost inevitable that the critics of the Roman Canon would finally have their chance to put it under the knife.

**1. Ecumenism.** It need hardly be said that the Roman Canon, like the traditional Offertory rite, was a major stumbling block to ecumenical rapprochement, one of the goals of the Liturgical Movement. Here is a Lutheran scholar's résumé of the Protestant objections to the Canon:

24. Nicholas Gihr, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass* (St. Louis: Herder 1921).
25. Hugh Ross Williamson, *The Great Prayer* (New York: Macmillan 1956).
26. Jerome Gassner OSB, *The Canon of the Mass: Its History, Theology and Art* (London: Herder 1950).
27. See Wagner, "Zur Reform," LO, 266.
28. Emminghaus, 180–1.

> The lengthy prayers of the Roman Canon definitely interpret the Eucharist as a propitiatory sacrifice. They also include commemorations of the living and the dead, venerations of the Virgin, the apostles and the saints, prayers for the departed. These all lead to an embellished form of the Words of Institution, of which recitation by the priest is supposed to secure the miraculous change of the elements into the very body and blood of Christ...[29]
>
> Because the prayers of the Roman Canon, with their ceremonies... were such truthful expositions of corrupt medieval doctrine, all the Reformers denounced them...
>
> Luther was the most vehement of all the Reformers in denunciation of the Canon. He characterized it as the "mangled and abominable Canon gathered from every source of filth and corruption," and declared that it changed the very nature of the Sacrament into "cursed idolatry and sacrilege."[30]

Among the phrases in the Canon that the Protestants condemned were references to the Mass as a sacrifice:

> That Thou wouldst vouchsafe to receive and bless these gifts, these offerings, this holy and unblemished sacrifice... We therefore beseech Thee... to receive the offering... Which offering do Thou, O God, vouchsafe in all things to... approve, make reasonable and acceptable... Upon which do thou vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance, and to accept them... a holy sacrifice, a spotless victim... We most humbly beseech thee, Almighty God, to command that these things be borne by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high.

Likewise, phrases which expressed the Catholic teaching on the intercession of the saints:

> In communion with and venerating the memory, first of all, of the glorious Mary, ever-virgin... thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs. [25 are named]... Fellowship together with thy Holy Apostles and Martyrs. [15 are named]

So too, another phrase applied to the saints which contradicts the Protestant teaching that human nature is so corrupt it cannot merit anything at all: "By whose merits and prayers." And of course, the whole Memento for the Dead would fall under condemnation, since Protestants deny the existence of purgatory.

Apart from specific phrases, there are other elements of the Canon Protestants would consider objectionable.

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29. Reed, 339.
30. Reed, 340.

The text incorporates various allusions to the priesthood, and reinforces these by requiring the priest to perform ritual gestures at many points during the recitation of the text. In the Protestant theological system, moreover, the whole prayer would be considered a "work" whose performance is worthless for the man justified by faith alone. And finally, the Canon is as Roman as a text can get, and therefore the spawn of the Great Whore of Babylon.

Eliminating the ecumenically objectionable features of the Roman Canon or, failing that, at least neutralizing them, would be a major objective of the revisers. If accommodating heretics was a motive for despoiling the Roman Offertory, *a fortiori* it would be one for attacking the Roman Canon.

**2. Modernism.** Theological modernists are natural ecumenists as well — dogma evolves, so why make a fuss over doctrinal differences that may vanish tomorrow anyway? So, such men would be predisposed to share the objections to the Canon made on ecumenical grounds. After all, it is linked inseparably to what they contemptuously called the *Sackgasse* — dead end — of post-Tridentine theories of sacrifice.

There is, moreover, is another factor: When it comes to the past, the modernist *always* knows better. So, in the case the Roman Canon, the modernists in the Liturgical Movement formulated various theories about what was "correct" in a Canon and what was a "corruption" of pristine liturgical ideals. These theories they based on literary and textual criticism,[31] the same tools that their counterparts in scriptural studies employed to turn the Bible into fairy stories.

The next step in the process was to insure that whatever remained could be squared with the "needs of contemporary man." Hence, in a 1968 commentary, Bugnini's assistant, Carlo Braga, wrote:

> All texts, even the most venerable... must be submitted to an examination of textual criticism and of psychological consideration, by which they would be able to more fittingly respond to the requirement of our times.[32]

Having seen this process at work with the orations and the Scripture readings, it is relatively easy to discover which elements in the Roman Canon would be objectionable to the modernist.

First, phrases which can be construed as anti-ecumenical or hostile to our separated brethren because they somehow emphasize union in the true (i.e. Catholic) faith:

> In the first place, for the Holy Catholic Church... in union with Thy servant

31. See Consilium's 24 May 1966 memo to Paul VI in Wagner, "Zur Reform," LO, 279ff.
32. Carlo Braga CM, "De Novibus Precibus Eucharisticis Liturgiae Latinae," EL 82 (1968), 216.

> N. our Pope... For all orthodox believers and all professing the Catholic and apostolic faith... Be mindful of Thy servants... whose faith is known to Thee... Be mindful also, O Lord, of Thy servants and handmaidens who have gone before us with the sign of faith and sleep in the sleep of peace... Grant unto these, O Lord, and all who fall asleep in Christ...

Other phrases that smack of negative theology — excessive expressions of our lowliness, the possibility of damnation, our *souls*, etc. — do not correspond to the needs of the times:

> We humbly pray and beseech Thee... May it please Thee to grant... Be mindful of Thy servants and handmaidens... Whose devotion is known unto Thee... For the redeeming of their souls... Who pay their vows to Thee... Our bounden duty... We Thy servants... We humbly beseech Thee... To us sinners, also, Thy servants... Save us from eternal damnation and command that we be numbered among the elect... Who offer up this sacrifice of praise... for the salvation of their souls.

Overall, apart from specific phrases in the text, the Roman Canon does not conform to various other ideals that modernist scholars laid down for good Canons. It is non-participatory (in the way modernists understand that term) and non-didactic (not enough like a religion lesson). It is mystical, recited in an otherworldly silence, filled with complex ritual gestures and totally indifferent to the presence of the living assembly, which in the modernist system is supposed to be *the* most fundamental "real" presence of Christ.

The attitude of the modernists is best summed up by a comment from Bugnini: The use of the Roman Canon alone, he said, was "a deplorable impoverishment that had been a typical result of centuries of liturgical decadence."[33]

**3. The Time Bombs.** Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (4 December 1963), of course, did not explicitly authorize either changing the Roman Canon or creating alternative prayers to be recited in its place. For the typical Catholic bishop at the time such a proposal would have been unthinkable. The Canon — ancient, venerable, Roman, mystical — would have been considered untouchable.

But since Bugnini and company had loaded the text of the Constitution with so many ambiguous, equivocal and contradictory provisions, these could be used to justify such a radical proposal once the process of reform got underway. Here is a list of paragraphs in the Constitution that the revisers

33. RL, 441. "deplorevole depauperamento...decadenza liturgica."

employed to change the Canon,[34] together with a short résumé of each:

> SC §21: Certain elements of the liturgy are subject to change if they are out of harmony with the inner nature of the liturgy. The people must be able to understand the rites with ease.
>
> SC §23: In order to retain sound tradition and promote legitimate progress, theological, historical and pastoral investigation must be undertaken in reforming any part of the liturgy.
>
> SC §33: The liturgy contains rich instruction for the faithful; this is to be kept in mind in the process of liturgical reform.
>
> SC §48: In any liturgical rite, the faithful should be conscious of what they are doing and have a good understanding of what takes place.
>
> SC §50: The Order of the Mass is to be revised to bring out more clearly its intrinsic nature. Elements in the liturgy that have suffered injury through the accidents of history should be restored to the vigor they had in the time of the Fathers of the Church.

These broad general principles could and would be used to justify just about any liturgical change imaginable. On this point, a comment made in 1963 by Mgr. Henri Jenny, Archbishop of Cambrai, who had served on both the commission that helped draft the Constitution and Consilium itself, was particularly prophetic:

> No one will ever know the amount of words exchanged and the volume of pages written on a simple little paragraph. But the consequences will be considerable for certain principles adopted: this morning I told my neighbor that I had the impression that, under the seemingly harmless expressions of a paragraph, we could be laying time bombs.[35]

**4. Vagaggini's Critique.** Waiting in the wings to set the timers was Father Cipriano Vagaggini OSB. He had been one of the *periti* (experts) at Vatican II, and in 1966 he published *Il canone della messa e la riforma liturgica* (*The Canon of the Mass and Liturgical Reform*), a highly influential work that would sink the Roman Canon.

In this book, Vagaggini examined and analyzed eight older anaphoras (canons), as well as "corrections" for the Roman Canon proposed by Hans

34. The list is from John Barry Ryan, *The Eucharistic Prayer: A Study in Contemporary Liturgy* (New York: Paulist 1974), 21.

35. "Le travail de la Commission conciliaire de Liturgie," *Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales* 44 (1963), 239.

Küng and Karl Amon. He also listed what he called the merits and the defects of the Roman Canon. With regard to the latter:

> The present Roman canon sins in a number of ways against those requirements of good liturgical composition and sound liturgical sense that were emphasized by the Second Vatican Council.[36]

— which requirements, of course, had been invented long before by *other* modernist critics, and then written into the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy itself by Bugnini.

Vagaggini devotes fourteen pages to the sins of the Roman Canon. Here is his list:

> (1) The impression it gives of an agglomeration of features with no apparent unity... (2) The lack of a logical connection of ideas... (3) The unsatisfactory way in which the various prayers of intercession are assembled in the Canon... (4) An exaggerated emphasis on the idea of the offering and acceptance of the gifts... (5) The number and disorder of epicletic-type prayers in the Canon... (6) The lack of a theology of the part played by the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist... (7) Deficiencies in the "Qui pridie" and the institution narrative... (8) Difficulties raised by the "Supplices"... (9) The lists of saints in the present Canon... (10) The lack of an overall presentation of the history of salvation.[37]

After such an indictment, the *real* "Miracle of the Mass" seems to be that it survived this way for fourteen to sixteen hundred years, and managed to sanctify countless souls and nourish their faith.

In any event, Vagaggini asked whether such defects could indeed ever be corrected. He also offered two proposals of his own for a second Canon.

In a May 1966 memo to Paul VI that outlined its general proposals for the new *Ordo Missae*, Consilium took up a number of Vagaggini's arguments about the "deficiencies" of the Canon. "No one denies the difficulty that the current Canon presents to modern man," the authors said. Further:

> Especially if said aloud, the Roman Canon would become burdensome due to its very changelessness, due to some elements that are too narrowly local, such as the list of the saints (in regard to which historical criticism also raises objections not easily answered).[38]

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36. Tr. editor, P. Coughlan (London: Chapman 1967), 90.
37. *Canon of the Mass*, 93–106.
38. Quoted RL, 442.

Given these difficulties, the authors proposed that another Canon be composed, but reflecting the "genius of the Roman style."

In response to this memo, Paul VI decided that the Roman Canon should be left unchanged, but that two or three additional Canons for use at specific times should be either composed or looked for.[39]

And of course, the usual question arises: Would this proposed use of variable texts of the Canon be a restoration of some ancient tradition in the Roman Rite? Archdale King provides the answer:

> There is *not the slightest evidence* that Rome ever had a variable Canon, such as we find in the Mozarabic and Gallican rites.... It is inconceivable to suppose, if a variable Canon had ever existed at Rome, that it would not have left some trace.[40]

Be that as it may, the elves in Bugnini's workshop got busy preparing another typical return to Christian antiquity. During the summer of 1966, Vagaggini spent three months in a monastery library studying the Roman Canon and composing what would become the third and fourth Eucharistic Prayers.[41]

But in 1967, two significant changes were introduced into the Roman Canon that would be carried over into the new Eucharistic Prayers when they would finally appear: the recitation of the texts aloud in the vernacular, and the mistranslation of *pro multis* as "for all" in the formula for the consecration of the chalice.

## SACRED STILLNESS REIGNS NO MORE

While in the New Mass the Eucharistic Prayers are recited or chanted aloud, in the old Mass, the priest recites the Roman Canon in what the rubrics call the "secret" voice. He pronounces the words in such a way that he can "hear himself, but not be heard by others near by."[42]

Obviously, there is a shift of symbolism here, one that is significant because it pertains to the most important prayer in each of the two rites.

Gihr gives the chief reasons why it is necessary and fitting to recite the Canon in silence: (1) The consecration and sacrificial act are exclusively priestly functions. (2) It harmonizes with the essence of the mystery: the material elements are changed without the senses perceiving it. (3) Silence betokens awe. (4) It withdraws the sacred words from ordinary discourse.

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39. RL, 443.
40. LRC, 304. My emphasis.
41. RL, 443.
42. *Rubricae Generales* 16.2.

(5) It mystically represents Christ praying in silence during His agony.[43]

In his 1945 work *Mass of the Roman Rite (Missarum Solemnia)* Jungmann is positively eloquent in expanding on some of these points:

> The priest enters the sanctuary of the canon alone... A sacred stillness reigns; silence is a worthy preparation for God's approach. Like the High-priest of the Old Testament, who once a year was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies with the blood of a sacrificial animal (Hebr. 9:7) the priest now separates from the people and makes his way before the all-holy God in order to offer up the sacrifice to Him.[44]

There is a Guéranger-like beauty in Jungmann's imagery here that one encounters elsewhere in his works — camouflaging, alas, a revolutionary agenda that is the antithesis of Guéranger.

**1. History of the Practice.** How, when and why the practice of silent recitation of the Canon first arose has been a topic of dispute and speculation among liturgists since the early eighteenth century.

A fascinating 1962 doctoral dissertation by Father Charles Lewis pulls together the various sources and commentaries that pertain to the issue.[45]

Lewis concludes during the first four centuries of the Church's existence, the Canon (Eucharistic Prayer) was always recited aloud. While this conclusion makes a certain amount of sense, the actual historical evidence that Lewis adduces for it is, in my opinion, rather slim.[46] His final argument is even weaker: the Canon *must* have always been recited aloud, he says, because during the early centuries the Mass was a "vivid act of corporate worship, a community action" with "constant contact between the celebrant and the worshippers."[47] This seems to be an anachronism, based on nothing more than the typical Liturgical Movement wishful thinking.[48]

For those who think our Roman Canon was once recited aloud during the balmy days of supposedly corporate worship, Lewis offers one interesting

43. HSM, 581–4.

44. MRR 2:138–9.

45. Charles A. Lewis SVD, *The Silent Recitation of the Canon of the Mass* (Bay Saint Louis MO: Gregorian University 1962).

46. See Lewis, 11–33. (1) The Invitatory Dialogue and the People's Amen mentioned in various patristic sources. (2) Other testimony from just three sources (a Northern Italian bishop, St. Melanie, and a passage in St. Augustine), which he concedes is implicit or indirect. (3) Two proofs, which he himself characterizes as "uncertain."

47. Lewis, 33–4.

48. See Lewis, 34. He repeats the usual canards about "no communion rails," the meaning of *circumstantes*, liturgical vernaculars, etc. A whole flock of them, all courtesy of (naturally) Jungmann, nest in Lewis's conclusions, 87–8.

aside in a footnote. Because the history of the composition of our Canon is so complicated:

> [W]e have no certain evidence that the entire text which we now use was ever recited or sung aloud before the assembly of the faithful during the first four centuries.[49]

Whatever the case may have been during the early centuries and thereafter, liturgical historians seem unable to provide a single date or place for the introduction of the silent Canon. Lewis says that by the ninth century at least, the silent recital of the Roman Canon was fully entrenched in the West. An anonymous commentator from that time says:

> A great silence has begun to be observed everywhere; the priest, his mind fixed on God, now begins to consecrate the salutary oblation of the Body and blood of the Lord... I think the consecration of the Body and Blood of the Lord is always celebrated in silence because the Holy Spirit remaining in them secretly performs the effect of the same sacraments.[50]

Similarly Almarius of Metz (+850), who had a first-hand knowledge of the liturgy in Rome, writes:

> It was the custom of our Fathers that those who pray should offer sacrifice to God. Therefore, that which we say in a loud voice before the *Te igitur* [first prayer of the Roman Canon] pertains to the praise of our Creator... Then follows the *Te igitur,* namely, the special prayer of the priests... because this prayer in a special manner belongs to the priest, the priest alone enters upon it, and secretly recites it.[51]

Having summed up the opinion of various authors on this particular point, Lewis gives two possible reasons for the silent recitation of the Canon: (1) To shorten the length of the Mass because of the time and effort singing the Canon would involve. (2) The spirit of awe in the presence of sacred mysteries.[52]

The first reason is not without merit; chanting the entire text of the Roman Canon aloud would indeed be a daunting and tiring task for any priest, even one with good lungs and a decent voice, and especially if it had to be

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49. Lewis, 34n.

50. Anonymous, *Quotiens contra se*, (ca. 800), PL 96: 1595–6, quoted in Lewis, 35.

51. *Eclogae de Ordine Romano* 24, Hanssens, *Almarii Episcopi Opera Omnia Liturgica*, 3:255–6, quoted in Lewis, 36.

52. Lewis, 86. The first explanation is predicated on his case for assuming that the Canon had, as a matter of course, been sung aloud during the early centuries.

done every day.[53] But the case for this is at least somewhat weakened by Lewis' observation that there is no evidence to indicate that the Roman Canon as we know it was ever sung.

The second reason, the spirit of awe in the presence of sacred mysteries, seems to be the most likely explanation for the introduction of the practice. It is indeed the one mentioned most often in ancient and modern commentaries on the traditional Mass.

**2. Protestants and Trent.** The move to alter the venerable practice of the silent Canon originated in modern times with the sixteenth-century Protestants. For them, the principal purpose of worship was to stir up faith by imparting the word to men — the worship-as-classroom approach. Men can hardly be instructed by a prayer recited silently.

Silent recitation also implies that a "mere work" can please God, and that the only person authorized to perform this work (a priest) enjoys a special spiritual status that sets him apart from the rest of godly Christians.

So, Protestants rejected the silent recitation of the Canon because it contradicted their fundamental teachings on worship, justification and the nature of the priesthood.

In response to these attacks the Council of Trent in its Twenty-second Session (July–September 1562) saw fit to explain the practice as follows:

> And since the nature of men is such that it cannot be easily lifted up to the meditation on divine things without external aids, for this reason has Holy Mother Church instituted certain rites, namely, that some things in the Mass be pronounced in a low voice [*submissa voce*], and others in a louder [*elatiore*] voice...[54]

At the end of its exposition, the Council, exercising its infallible authority, then pronounced an anathema on those who condemned the silent recitation of the Canon:

> If anyone says that the rite of the Roman Church, whereby part of the Canon and the words of Consecration are said in a low voice [*submissa voce*], should be condemned... let him be anathema.[55]

53. A monastery where I spent some time used the Novus Ordo in Latin. On major feasts, Eucharistic Prayer I, which contains most of the old Roman Canon, was often chanted. It was indeed a lengthy affair, and despite the good voices of the priests involved, the result was not particularly pleasing, either from a devotional or a musical point of view.
54. DZ 943.
55. DZ 953.

**3. The Eucharistic Prayer Aloud.** This pronouncement of the Council of Trent made the twentieth-century modernists in the Liturgical Movement squirm. Nothing could run more against their theories on "corporate worship" than a silent Canon — and of *course* they would have merrily condemned "the rite of the Roman Church whereby part of the Canon and the words of Consecration are said in a low voice."

But the matter of an anathema stood in their way — until Vatican II.

The same time bomb passages in Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy that were employed against retaining the *text* of the Roman Canon could be used *a fortiori* against the rubric to recite the Canon silently. How could a prayer possibly impart to the faithful "rich instruction" (SC 33) or make them "conscious of what they are doing" (SC 48) if they can't *hear* it?

So, the abolition of the silent Canon, a tradition in the Roman Rite so ancient and venerable that no one can really tell us when, where or how it began, fell victim to the modernist notion of worship-as-classroom and the "primacy of the living assembly" in May 1967, when priests were given permission to say the Canon aloud in Masses with a congregation.[56]

A sacred stillness reigns no more...

## FOR YOU AND FOR — ALL?

Momentous though the shift to a loud recitation of the Canon had been in 1967, it was a trifle compared with the other change that accompanied it: tampering with the Words of Consecration themselves. Here, the phrase *qui pro vobis et pro multis effundeter* (which shall be shed for you and for *many*) that occurs in the consecration of the chalice was rendered into the vernacular in most major western languages as "which shall be shed for you and for *all men*."[57]

It was an obvious mistranslation, so much so that even a minor seminary student with just two years of Latin (as I was at the time) could recognize it. The phrase *pro multis* meant "for *many*," while *pro omnibus* meant "for all."

**1. Omlor's Landmark Study.** In the United States, the appearance of this officially sanctioned outrage galvanized the nascent traditionalist movement. Since the mistranslation "for all men" occurred in the essential sacramental form, which actually brings about the consecration, the validity of the Mass itself was at stake.

In March 1968, several months after the vernacular Canon had appeared

56. SC Rites (Consilium), *Tres Abhinc Annos*, §10, DOL 456.

57. This was the case for the official translations into English, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. The French translation rendered it as "the multitude."

in English, Patrick Henry Omlor, the young father of a growing Catholic family and the happy beneficiary of an excellent pre-Vatican II religious and classical education, published his book *Questioning the Validity of the Masses using the New All-English Canon.*[58]

Omlor provided a concise recapitulation of what Catholic moral and dogmatic theology taught on the requisites for a valid sacramental form. He then argued that the new form in the all-English Canon overthrew the requirement to use Our Lord's own words for the consecration, that it destroyed the true sense of the form by substituting *all* for *many*, and that it suppressed something essential. Omlor concluded that, due to the substantial change introduced into the meaning of the sacramental form, the consecration in Masses that used the all-English Canon was invalid — i.e., it did not take place.

Along the way, Omlor pointed out that the change contradicted both *The Roman Catechism* and St. Thomas, and that it was connected, moreover, to modern errors on ecumenism and on the nature of the Church. Finally, in best scholastic fashion, Omlor presented and then responded to various objections.

Father Lawrence S. Brey, a priest of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee who had been persecuted for his resistance to the earliest post-Vatican II liturgical changes, wrote the Foreword to Omlor's work. He also wrote an appendix to it in which he made a convincing argument, based on the teachings of the theologians Noldin, Tanquerey and de la Taille, that the invalid consecration of the wine resulting from the defective vernacular form likewise invalidated or at least cast doubt upon the consecration of the bread.[59]

*Questioning the Validity* went through several printings and became a traditionalist classic. Omlor thus became a trailblazer for the traditionalist movement in America long before anyone would hear of Archbishop Lefebvre or the *Ottaviani Intervention.*

Many Catholics who were skeptical about the Vatican II changes came to reject them entirely once they read Omlor and became convinced that, thanks to this fraudulent translation, even the Blessed Sacrament itself had been taken away from them.

**2. Explanations — and Reasons.** Thereafter, Omlor repeatedly battled over the issue with conservative defenders of the Vatican II changes, including Msgr. John F. McCarthy, Father William G. Most and even Dietrich von

58. 3rd printing, enlarged, (Reno NV: Athanasius 1969). Also reprinted in Patrick Henry Omlor, *The Robber Church* (Stouffville, Ont.: Silvio Mattacchione 1998), 16–81.
59. In *Robber Church*, 67–70.

Hildebrand. Omlor's erudition, polemical skills and sheer tenacity in the fight are on full display in *The Robber Church*, a collection of his writings covering the years 1968–97, and an invaluable source for understanding the early years of the traditionalist movement in the United States.

During the course of the controversy, Omlor cited another weighty authority to support his argument against the validity of the mistranslated form: the regulations on defects in the celebration of Mass (*De Defectibus*) that St. Pius V had promulgated as part of the Tridentine Missal. One regulation designated the *whole* passage for the consecration of the wine, including the phrase *pro multis*, as the form of the sacrament. It then stipulated:

> If one were to omit, or to change anything in the form of the consecration of the Body and Blood, and in that very change of the words the [new] wording would fail to mean the same thing, he would not consecrate the Sacrament.[60]

And the substitution of *all* for the word *many* was indeed a change of meaning. So, Omlor argued, according to the rules in the Missal that St. Pius V himself approved, the consecration did not take place.

The defense most commonly given for the mistranslation was that in Aramaic, the everyday language that Our Lord spoke to his disciples, the word translated into Latin as *pro multis* really has the sense of "for all." The origin for this theory turned out to be a 1949 work by the Protestant scripture scholar Joachim Jeremias,[61] not exactly an authoritative source for discovering the true meaning of the Words of Consecration in the Roman Canon.

Be that as it may, in 1970, after the *pro multis* controversy had raged for several years — Bugnini complained in his memoirs that he was repeatedly asked about it — Consilium commissioned a scholar from the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Father Max Zerwick, to defend the mistranslation.

Zerwick cited various scriptural passages in an attempt to portray the terms "all" and "many" as either interchangeable or ambiguous. He subjected the early Church to some mind-reading (its "mentality," etc.), and in general, recycled in a simplified version the theories of Joachim Jeremias.

Finally, Zerwick asked the question: Why should this venerable original term *pro multis* be replaced in our liturgical translations with the phrase *pro omnibus* (for all)? If this were not done, Zerwick said, the translation would result in an "inconvenience."

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60. *De Defectibus in Celebratione Missae Occurrentibus* V. "Si quis autem aliquid diminueret, vel immutaret de forma consecrationis Corporis et Sanguinis, et in ipsa verborum immutatione verba idem non significarent, non conficeret Sacramentum."

61. See his *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress 1977), 178–82, 225–31.

> The phrase "for many" (as I noted) *excludes* from *our* thinking (if not sufficiently instructed) that universality of the redemptive work which the phrase could connote for the Semitic mind, and certainly connoted because of the theological context.[62]

As to the objection (that of Omlor and other traditionalists) that the phrase *for all* suggested "all would be saved," well, said Zerwick, "the danger of such erroneous understanding arising among Catholics could hardly seem to exist."[63]

But of course, it was *precisely* the latter idea that the translators wished to convey, and is indeed the whole point of ecumenism and the new theology of Vatican II — that *all*, not just many, will be saved. "For many" is necessarily exclusionary. So, the text of the Roman Canon (and indeed the words of Our Lord Himself) needed to be falsified in vernacular translations for the sake of ecumenism and the much-desired universalism.

And apart from this, there are still other problems with arguments like Zerwick's:

(1) It is not the translator's business to "correct" the original. When St. Jerome apologized for linguistic infelicities in his translation of the Old Testament, he said that people should hear Scripture, and not Jerome. Still less at the Consecration of the Mass should they hear Max Zerwick channeling Joachim Jeremias.

(2) Substituting *all* for *many* in other Gospel passages results in manifest absurdities. It also produces an amusing but unintended result: *more* "negative" verses, which Bugnini and company would then have felt obliged to excise from or make optional in the new lectionary.[64]

(3) It is sacrilegious to change the words of Christ — and especially so in the case of one of the two sacraments for which He Himself specifically laid down the form.

(4) No known rite for the celebration of Mass, whether Eastern or Western, used *all* instead of *many* for the Words of Consecration over the chalice.

(5) An alteration in meaning raises a least a doubt about the validity of the essential form when the vernacular is used.

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62. Max Zerwick SJ, "Pro Vobis et pro Multis Effundetur," *Notitiae* 6 (1970), 140. "phrasis... menti *nostrae* (non praemonitae) *excludit* illam universalitatem operis redemptivi quae pro mente semitica in illa phrasi connotari potuit et propter contextum theologicum certe connotabatur..."
63. "Pro Vobis...," 140. "qui scl. alicui suggerere possit omnes *actu* salvatum iri, periculum talis erroneae intelligentiae apud catholicos vix existere censendum videtur."
64. E.g., "Broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and *all* there are who go in thereat" (Mt 7:13). "*All* will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord...and I will say I never knew you" (Mt 7:22). "For *all* will come in my name... and will deceive *all*" (Mt 24:5). "The charity of *all* shall grow cold" (Mt 24:12).

**3. Omlor Triumphans.** Nevertheless, the fraudulent translations with the word *all* were used for several decades. In the 1990s, however, the emergence of a neo-conservative movement among younger clergy, buttressed by the ascendancy of Joseph Ratzinger, eventually led to a wholesale reassessment of the post-Vatican II vernacular translations of the Missal of Paul VI. Several organizations were founded to promote the idea that modern vernacular translations should be more faithful to the Latin text of the new Missal (already bad enough on its own, to be sure).

None of these organizations, of course, promoted the idea that the mistranslation of *pro multis* compromised the validity of a Mass where it was used. Correcting this mistranslation was merely part of their broader goals.

But the tall tale told about Aramaic has finally been abandoned, and *this* modernist fraud, at least, implicitly acknowledged. So in the proposed 2006–8 translations of the new Eucharistic Prayers which have been approved for the English-speaking world, the phrase *pro multis* will finally be rendered correctly as "for many" — and after forty years, Patrick Henry Omlor vindicated at last.

## THE NEW EUCHARISTIC PRAYERS

In 1968 Paul VI promulgated the first four texts for the Canon, now rebranded as the "Eucharistic Prayer."[65] (The standard abbreviation for the term is EP.) EP1 was a revised version of the old Roman Canon. EP2, EP3 and EP4 were entirely new texts. The promulgation of these preceded that of the *Novus Ordo Missae*, which would take place a year later.

In 1974, prior to the Jubilee Year of Reconciliation, Paul VI authorized the introduction of two Eucharistic Prayers for Reconciliation.[66] These were supposed to be only provisional texts for the 1975 Holy Year, but they were ultimately incorporated into the 2002 edition of the new Missal.

Also in 1974, the Vatican authorized three texts to be used in special Masses for children.[67] These celebrations were conducted according to the norms of the Children's Directory — a rite personally concocted by Bugnini himself.

In 1991, the Congregation for Divine Worship and Sacraments issued a Latin edition of a 1974 EP approved for use in Switzerland. This EP had four sets of Prefaces and intercessions to choose from. In the 2002 Latin Missal, the Congregation arranged the formularies into four separate Eucharistic

65. SC Rites (Consilium), Decree *Prece Eucharistica*, 23 May 1968, DOL 1930.
66. SC Divine Worship, Decree *Postquam de Precibus*, 1 November 1974, DOL 1994–8. Eucharistic Prayers for Masses with Children and Masses of Reconciliation.
67. Ibid.

Prayers of Masses for Various Needs.

Before turning to the texts, some comments on their structure and the ritual gestures which accompany them are in order.

**1. Structure.** The new Eucharistic Prayers have a similar structure and form, because their authors followed the criteria laid down by modernist textual critics. The latter at some point decided what elements a *real* Eucharistic Prayer should have, unlike, say, that dodgy old Roman Canon.[68] So, in the new EP's we find the following:

(1) Preface (Usually variable).
(2) Transitional prayer after the Sanctus (Holy, Holy).
(3) Epiclesis (invocation of the Holy Ghost).
(4) Institution Narrative (formerly the Consecration).
(5) Anamnesis (Memorial of passion, etc., offering up Divine Victim).
(6) A prayer that the offering will be received, and that the reception of communion may be fruitful.
(7/8) Commemoration of saints and the intercessions.
(9) Doxology (Through Him, with Him...)

While we will discuss the Institution Narrative below, we should pause here to mention the inclusion of an epiclesis — the technical term in liturgical writings for a prayer that calls upon the Holy Ghost to descend upon the offerings and sanctify them. This was another hobby horse from the Liturgical Movement corral.

In the wooly sacramental theology of the Eastern schismatics, the Words of Consecration recited over the bread and wine do not suffice in themselves to transform the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ. One must call down the Holy Ghost with an epiclesis. Only then does the transformation occur.

So once again, ecumenism kicked in. Just as the Offertory was removed in order to accommodate heretics in the West, an epiclesis was inserted into each newly composed Eucharistic Prayer in order to accommodate schismatics in the East.[69]

**2. Reduction of Priestly Gestures.** The rubrics for the traditional Mass prescribe a great number of ritual gestures (also called "manual actions") for the

68. But of course, none of the existing texts on which the critics *based* their theories could be "restored" either, because of the touchy matter of "new values and new perspectives," etc.
69. And, as we already pointed out in Chapter 5, the expression "words of consecration" was not employed in GI 69 §55.d in order to accommodate their ideas on the epiclesis as well. See Tillard, 215–7.

priest to perform at various points throughout the rite, but especially during the great prayer of the Roman Canon. The symbolism of each is mostly self-evident: invocations of God's blessing, supplication to Him, our unworthiness, adoration, gathering petitions, recollection, offering the sacrifice to God, reverence for the Real Presence, etc.[70]

Ideally (though this was not the case with many priests before Vatican II), the gestures are supposed to be performed unhurriedly, unaffectedly, smoothly, and with restraint.[71] If they are executed this way, the priest's manual actions vividly reinforce what the text expresses at the moment each gesture is made; they are, moreover, an aid to the priest's personal attention and devotion during the most solemn part of the Mass.

Here are the priestly gestures found in the Roman Canon, together with an indication of how they fared in the new Eucharistic prayers.

1. *Extension of Hands over Oblata.* Retained. In EP1, moved to the *Quam oblationem.* In the other EPs it occurs at the newly created epiclesis prayers invoking the Holy Ghost.

2. *Minor Elevation before Pater Noster.* Retained.

3. *Signs of Cross over the Oblata.* Reduced from 26 times in the Roman Canon to once in all EPs.

4. *Genuflections.* Reduced from five to two. The priest now genuflects *after* showing the host to the people, not before and after.

5. *Striking of Breast.* Retained in EP1. Abolished in the other EPs.

6. *Raising Eyes to Cross.* Reduced from twice to once in EP1. Abolished in the other EPs.

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70. The signs of the cross made over the Sacred Species *after* the Consecration may cause some puzzlement, because at first it seems that the priest is blessing something that is already holy — the Body and Blood of Christ. The explanation, however, is connected with the gestures made during classical Roman oratory to draw the listener's attention to something. Since the Roman Canon is written in this style, the signs of the cross after the Consecration serve as demonstrative oratorical gestures intended to emphasize the meaning of the text by indicating the Sacred Species. See MRR 2:142–7. Thus immediately after the Consecration: "... we offer unto Thy most excellent majesty... a pure + victim, a holy + victim, an immaculate + victim, the holy + Bread of eternal life, and the Chalice + of everlasting salvation." Likewise, they have multiple and rich symbolic meanings. "They may be regarded as a symbol of that plenitude of grace and blessing which gushes forth from the sacrificed Body and Blood of Christ over his mystical body, that is, the Church." Thus Gihr, HSM, 655. "The blessings... do not regard the divine body, but they who are to receive it; or... to indicate the blessings and graces wherewith it is filled, and which He desires to impart to us liberally... [or] Jesus Christ is blessed in all His members... that the grace of the Head be abundantly bestowed upon them." Bossuet, quoted in HSM, 655n.

71. Archbishop Lefebvre performed them beautifully and utterly without affectation.

7. *Raising and Joining Hands.* Three times in the Roman Canon. Abolished in all EPs.

8. *Kissing the Altar.* Twice in the Roman Canon. Abolished in all EPs.

9. *Profound Bows.* Four times in the Roman Canon. Abolished. Replaced with two "slight" bows for the recitation of the *Verba Domini.* One additional slight bow in EP1.

10. *Major Elevations of Sacred Species.* Abolished. The old rubric directed the priest to "lift up on high" the Host and the chalice. The new rubric says instead that the priest "shows to the people" the host or chalice.[72]

11. *Joined Forefingers and Thumbs until Ablution.* Abolished.

As can be seen from the foregoing, the number of gestures in the Eucharistic Prayers has been reduced to a functional minimum. Why?

Taken as a whole, the multiple ritual actions in the traditional rite conveyed in one way or another ideas that the new rite was designed to diminish or suppress entirely — the unique role of the priest in offering the sacrifice, the mystical otherworldliness of the sacred action taking place, man's lowliness before God's holiness and the miracle of the Real Presence.

The gestures, because they were directed to God, diminished the attention the presider was supposed to lavish on the celebrating assembly. Similarly, they entirely immerse the priest's personality as an individual into the person of Christ — at the altar, one priest is the same as another, and each is an *alter Christus*, another Christ. The minute regulation of every gesture the priest made at the altar stripped away his own identity, and absorbed it into that of his Master.

Finally, the requirement in the old rite that the priest keep his thumbs and forefingers joined from the Consecration until the Ablutions after communion, conveyed profound reverence for the Blessed Sacrament. It was the Body of Christ; each particle was precious, to be treated with the greatest care. Paul VI abolished this powerful symbolic gesture during the very years in which modernist heretics were most openly attacking the dogma of transubstantiation. Abolishing this gesture furthered their goal of undermining faith in the Real Presence.

## THE NEW TEXTS

It is not possible in a work of this scope to analyze in detail the text of each new Eucharistic Prayer. A few comments on each, though, will

72. Cf. *Ritus Servandus* 8.5–7 ("elevat in altum") and the new EPs ("ostendit populo").

demonstrate that the same beasts we previously encountered — ecumenism, modernism and bogus "restorations" — rear their heads here, too, just as they do throughout the rest of the *Novus Ordo Missae*.

**1. EP1 ("The Roman Canon").** The accompanying legislation says that EP1 may always be used, and is "particularly suited to days assigned a proper *Communicantes*... feasts of Apostles and saints mentioned in this Prayer; also to Sundays."[73]

Although EP1 bears the sub-title "Roman Canon" (and that is how a priest like Father Retreaux invariably refers to it) that label is incorrect. Other texts may be substituted for it, so by definition it is no longer a Canon — a fixed rule.

Apart from this, there are other changes. At four points in the prayer, the formula *Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.* that appears in the old Canon has been rendered optional. So too, the lengthy lists of saints in the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*. The revisers, as noted above, regarded the recitation of these names as objectionable on grounds of "historical criticism" and moreover, as burdensome. So, twenty-one names in the first prayer and eleven in the second prayer are bracketed as optional. Since the names of these saints appeared in the Canon precisely because they enjoyed a *cultus* in Rome, it makes no sense to continue to call EP1 the Roman Canon if it can now be recited without them.

Most importantly, the Consecration (as we shall see below) has been completely reworked.

**2. EP2 ("Hippolytus").** The legislation describes this EP as "better suited to weekdays or to special occasions."[74] It has its own Preface, but it may be used with different Prefaces.

This EP is the shortest — the fastest epiclesis in the West — and because of its alleged antiquity, it was supposed to have ecumenical appeal for Protestants. Its putative source is *The Apostolic Tradition,* a liturgical text attributed to Hippolytus, a third-century anti-pope (215–20), and reconstructed by Dom Bernard Botte OSB.[75]

The ancient text, however, was not used integrally. This was the case, Bugnini explained, because it did not have a Sanctus, an epiclesis before the consecration, a commemoration of the saints, or intercessions, all of which

73. SC Rites (Consilium), "Norms on the Use of Eucharistic Prayers I–IV," DOL 1931.
74. SC Rites, "Norms...EPs," DOL 1933.
75. The same work was also the source for the revised Rite of Episcopal Consecration that Paul VI promulgated in 1968. The portion used for EP2 is reproduced in Vagaggini, 26–7.

developed after Hippolytus.[76]

The real reason, however, was provided by Enrico Mazza in his extended commentary on the new Eucharistic prayers. The ancient text of Hippolytus was not used integrally because it contains "terms and expressions that our present-day theological outlook would cause us to misinterpret."[77] Translation: those which would contradict modernist theology. Here are some examples of omitted phrases:

• *Christ as the "angel of your will."* This was removed because it was "mystical"[78] — God forbid!

• *"He manifested himself as your Son."* This was omitted because it implied the Docetist heresy — Christ only *seemed* to be the Son of God. But if the base text for this EP was implicitly heretical, why use it at all?

• *Our Lord dies "in order to free from suffering those who had faith in you."* Obviously this is insufficiently "universalist" in its outlook, because it implies that only those who have faith will be freed from suffering.

• *Our Lord undergoes His Passion "so that he... could break the bonds of the devil, trod hell under foot, and lead the just to light."* Insufficient universalism again, not to mention concepts that do not reflect the mentality of modern man — i.e., the devil and hell.

• *Thanks to God because He found us worthy to stand before Him and to serve Him "as priests."* The "as priests" had to be omitted because it undermined the theology of assembly.

So, EP2 is not restoration of some lost liturgical treasure of antiquity. Though it contains phrases from a prayer attributed to a third-century antipope (a great pedigree, that), it is a text that Consilium cobbled together itself in 1967.

**3. EP3 ("Roman Tradition").** Like EP1, "it is to have precedence on Sundays and holydays,"[79] and may be used with any of the Prefaces.

The length of this prayer is mid-way between EP2 and EP4. Jungmann

76. RL, 449.

77. *Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite,* 93.

78. "[This is] a Christological description of Judaeo-Christian origin that today says nothing to us even when translated as 'messenger of your will.' The phrase expressed the idea of the revealer, which, after being abused in the past is today misunderstood as though it exempted Christians from the human labor of study and research. Yet this kind of effortful quest is regarded today as a sign of our authentic humanity and a methodological criterion of true progress. According to the mind of our day, that which is not won by laborious research is not worth considering. Something that is not thus won but is the result of revelation is seen as belonging to the peculiar world of 'mysticism' in which revelation is confused with dreams, enlightenment with fantasies about unauthentic realities." Mazza, 92–3.

79. SC Rites, "Norms...EPs," DOL 1936.

says that EP3 "best displays the combination of Roman tradition on the one hand and, on the other, the rediscovered ideal of a Eucharistic prayer."[80] By "rediscovered," of course, he means invented by modernist textual critics.

Much of the text is the work of Cipriano Vagaggini,[81] and it resembles his "Project B," a text he proposed in his book attacking the Roman Canon.[82] So, far from coming from "the Roman tradition," EP3 is merely another text dreamed up in the mid-1960s.

Three expressions in the text are noteworthy.

First, the phrase "You gather a people to yourself, so that... a pure offering would be made to your name." Of this, the *Ottaviani Intervention* observes:

> The *so that* in the passage makes it appear that the *people*, rather than the *priest*, are the indispensable element in the celebration. Since it is never made clear, even here, who offers the sacrifice, the people themselves appear as possessing *autonomous priestly powers*.[83]

The phrase likewise reflects the modernist theology of "presences" that Bouyer constructed in order to attack the Real Presence, particularly, his claim that the "holy thing" which the Mass makes is "the People of God."[84]

Second, the phrase "pilgrim Church on earth." Far from being a notion drawn from Roman liturgical tradition, this expression seems to be a pure Vatican II-ism. Those of us who actually lived through the Conciliar Revolution will recognize it as the popular modernist code word for dogmatic and disciplinary evolution. Pilgrims of this sort are always on a journey, and never arrive at a goal.

Third, in his defense of the sacrificial character of EP3, Bugnini pointed to the phrase *sacrificium vivum et verum* — a holy and living sacrifice. Very nice. But he then made the mistake of identifying its source: an anaphora attributed to the heretic Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428). Theodore and his theological writings were condemned as "impious" by the Second Council of Constantinople (553),[85] and he is regarded as having been, practically speaking, a Nestorian. The anaphora from which the phrase in EP3 is taken is one used by the Nestorian heretics.

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80. TNM, 201.
81. Mazza, 125.
82. Cf. Vagaggini, 124ff.
83. OI, 46. Original emphasis.
84. LP, 160. "Here is the deepest meaning of the word 'sacrifice': *sacrum facere*, to make holy. What is the holy thing which is made...? We can say that it is the People, for it is made a People in being made the People *of God*." His emphasis. See above, Chapter 2.
85. See DZ 216ff.

**4. EP4: ("Salvation History").** This Eucharistic prayer is "particularly suited to a congregation of people with a more developed knowledge of Scripture."[86] It has an unchangeable Preface that must always be used. The whole prayer is a didactic Bible History lesson.

As regards sources, we are told that it is modeled on "the anaphoras of the West Syrian Byzantine type,"[87] or that it "draws its substance from the Antiochene *Constitutiones Apostolorum*."[88] Emminghaus comments:

> This prayer might be called the most ecumenical since it has a notably Eastern structure... [it] thus becomes a real ecumenical bridge, since East and West meet in it and embrace.[89]

This seems to be wishful thinking. Actually using one of the ancient Eastern texts verbatim probably would have been impossible, because they are usually loaded with language that modernists regard as insufficiently sensitive to the "mentality of modern man," and the Photian schismatics, in any case, look askance at tampering with liturgical texts.

So in fact, like EP3, the fourth Eucharistic Prayer is mostly the work of Cipriano Vagaggini. It is similar to "Project C" in his book,[90] and thus just another 1960s creation.

But EP4 did seem to hearken back to at least *one* ancient source. Because its Preface addressed God the Father with the phrase "you *alone* are God, living and true,"[91] it was nicknamed "the Arian Canon." And since you've already made the Nestorians happy in EP3, why not cheer up the Arians in EP4?

**5. EP for Reconciliation 1.** This may be used for Masses for promoting concord, reconciliation, preserving peace and justice, in time of war or public disturbance, for the remission of sins, to obtain charity; Votive Masses of the Holy Cross, the Eucharist, the Precious Blood; and in Lent. It has a special Preface, but may be used with another Preface that refers to penance and conversion (e.g., Lenten Prefaces).

Some excerpts will provide the general flavor of this Eucharistic Prayer:

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86. SC Rites, "Norms...EPs," DOL 1939.
87. TNM, 200. LRL, 169.
88. Emminghaus, 187.
89. Emminghaus, 187–8.
90. See Vagaggini, 129ff.
91. "quia *solus* es Deus vivus et verus." Barba, 597. The error appeared in the original version of EP4 that Paul VI promulgated in May, 1968, when the new EPs were first published. The Latin version seems to have been corrected in the first edition of the new *Ordo Missae* the following year. The error was not, however, corrected in the official English translation for many years.

> [You] do not cease to challenge us to a more abundant life.
>
> United the human family to yourself by a bond so strong...
>
> You grant them ... the power to serve all human beings by entrusting themselves more fully to the action of the Holy Spirit.
>
> Keep us always united in a communion of mind and heart.

Here we see any pretense of adhering to the liturgical tradition, eastern or western, in language or style, cast to the winds. The language and thought-pattern is that of late twentieth-century modernist encounter-group "spirituality," making it (and the five EPs that follow, as well) a favorite of priests like Father Chuck.

**6. EP for Reconciliation 2.** This may be used for the same occasions as the foregoing Eucharistic Prayer. The tone of the language is similar:

> The human race is fragmented by dissension and discord.
>
> Enemies again engage in conversations, adversaries shake hands, peoples seek encounters.
>
> Make your Church be in the midst of humanity as a sign of unity and instrument of your peace.
>
> Bring all human beings, of whatever rank and nation, [in your friendship for the departed] to the banquet of abiding unity in [the new heaven and] the new world where peace in its fullness sheds its radiant light.[92]

This is the language of the brotherhood-of-man-fatherhood-of-God global internationalism of Paul VI that the Abbé George des Nantes called *le MAS-DU*— the Movement for the Spiritual Animation of Universal Democracy.[93] Perfect for use in the United Nations Meditation Room.

**7. EP for Various Needs 1.** *(The Church Advancing on the Way of Unity)* This Eucharistic Prayer may be used for Masses for the Church, the pope, the bishop, the elections of a pope or bishop, a council or synod, priests, the priest himself, ministers of the Church, and a spiritual or pastoral gathering. Some high points:

> You are always present to them in the journey of life.

92. The phrases in brackets appear in the 2002 Latin text, but not in Mazza, 207. Apparently the original text omitted intercessions for the dead.
93. "mouvement pour l'animation spirituelle de la démocratie universelle."

[Your Son is] present in our midst.

Renew the Church with the light of the Gospel.

Open our eyes to acknowledge the needs of our brothers.

May your Church appear as a living testimony of truth and liberty, peace and justice...

When this earthly pilgrimage is completed.

The tone here is humanist, social activist (the "peace and justice" phrase was a 60s liberal bromide) and horizontal ("God in our midst") in order to meet the needs of the Evolving Church (pilgrimage language again).

**8. EP for Various Needs 2.** *(God Leading His Church on the Way of Salvation)* It may be used in Masses for the Church, vocations to Holy Orders, laymen, a family, religious, vocations to religious life, obtaining charity, acquaintances and friends, thanksgiving to God.

This text employs some language and ideas from the previous EP (pilgrim Church, horizontal theology, etc.), and adds some other ideas:

Provident, you are still working in the midst of us.

[You now accompany] your pilgrim Church in the world.

You are always present to them in the journey of life.

[Your Son is] present in our midst.

Called to your table, O Lord...

Walking your paths in faith and hope

When this earthly pilgrimage is completed.

These thoughts are so shallow, the images are so trite and the language is so debased that the EP is nearly a parody — God as "tour guide" in the "pilgrimage of life."

**9. EP for Various Needs 3.** *(Jesus the Way to the Father)* This may be used in Masses for the evangelization of peoples, persecuted Christians, country, city, civil peace, gatherings of heads of nations, beginning of the civil year, progress of peoples.

The prayer repeats the God-in-our-midst and pilgrimage themes, and adds a few other twists of its own:

All the faithful of the Church, examining the signs of the times in the light of faith.

Make us attentive to the needs of all men.

With them, let us walk in the path of your kingdom.

More modern bromides — especially "examining the signs of the times."

**10. EP for Various Needs 4.** (*Jesus Doing Good Passing By*) This is used for Masses for refugees and exiles, time of famine, those suffering hunger, those who trouble us, those in captivity, prisoners, the sick, the dying, to obtain the grace of a good death, in any necessity.

There is more journey and present-in-our-midst language, as well as a petition to "open our eyes to recognize the needs of our brothers." More of the same, humanistic, preachy nonsense.

**11. EPs for Children 1–3.** These are intended to be used at Masses celebrated with pre-adolescent children and are governed by the Children's Directory.[94] This document was Bugnini's pride and joy, his own personal creation, and it received the approval of Paul VI himself.

The entire Children's Directory is predicated upon the notion of the Mass as a religious classroom and worship as pedagogy. The second and third Eucharistic Prayers for Children feature a number of acclamations that interrupt the text, the idea being that children have a short attention span. The Latin versions of the texts appear in the third (2002) edition of the Missal of Paul VI,[95] so Father Retreaux can use them on his day off when, say, he celebrates Mass for the toddler tertiaries down at the Opus Daycare Center.

The Children's Eucharistic Prayers are written in theological baby-talk and their tone is horizontal and "cheery."

Most lovable Father, you give us this joy so we can thank you, and rejoice together with Jesus in your Church.

You love us so much that you made this big and beautiful world for us.

**Children:** Glory to you, Lord, who loves us men!

You love us so much, that you gave us your Son, Jesus Christ, who could lead us to you.

**Children:** Glory to you, Lord, who loves us men!

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94. SC Divine Worship, Directory *Pueros Baptizatos*, 1 November 1973, AAS 66 (1974), 30–46, DOL 2134–88.

95. *Missale Romanum...Pauli VI* (2002), 1271–87.

> You love us so much, that you bring us together in Christ, and make us sons in one family through the Spirit of adoption.
>
> **Children:** Glory to you, Lord, who loves us men![96]

As if simply translating the Latin originals would not be hideous enough, the Directory adds:

> The style of the vernacular text is in every aspect to be adapted to the spirit of the respective language as well as to the manner of speaking with children in each language concerning matters of great importance.[97]

These prayers represent *la déchéance totale de la liturgie Romaine* — the final and complete degradation of the glorious and noble Roman Liturgy. It could fall no lower.

**12. Ecumenical Intercessions.** The Roman Canon contains various intercessory prayers for living and dead members of the Church — the Church Militant and the Church Suffering. The ancient discipline of the Church dictated that those who were *not* members of the Church were excluded from her public prayers, apart from prayers offered for their conversion. This same discipline specifically forbade mentioning heretics and schismatics in the diptychs, the ancient term for the intercessory prayers of the Canon.

Despite the fact that this principle was indeed part of the "pristine norms of the Fathers" that the revisers professed to restore, the new Eucharistic Prayers entirely disregarded it. The reason, of course, is ecumenism and modernist universalism. This is explicitly stated in Consilium's guidelines for catechesis on the new Eucharistic Prayers:

> The universalist and ecumenical viewpoints of Vatican II and of the so-called theology of the world have in these anaphoras a restrained, biblical, but real echo.[98]

In his commentary on the New Order of the Mass, Robert Cabié points out the petitions in the new Eucharistic prayers that are made for those outside the Church:

> In accord with the theology of Vatican II, prayer for the living and dead members of the Church extends to those whose connection with the body of Christ is invisible. (EP III: "All your children wherever they may be"; EP

96. *Prex Eucharistica II pro Missis cum Pueris.* Ms. Gauleiter would no doubt insist that *homines* and *filios* be translated as non-sexist *persons* and *offspring.*
97. SC Divine Worship, Decree *Postquam de Precibus*, §11, DOL 2009.
98. Guidelines *Au Cours*, DOL 1957.

> IV: "those... whose faith is known to you alone") and to those who have died in the love of the Lord (EP II: "bring them and all the departed into the light of your presence"; EP III: "all who have left the world in your friendship"). These invisible members named after the "brethren" (EP II: "our brothers and sisters"; EP III: "the entire people your Son has gained for you"; EP IV: "those who have died in the peace of Christ").
>
> The Church prays that all these individuals and groups may obtain the kingdom as their inheritance (EP II: "make us worthy to share eternal life"; EP III: "enable us to share in the inheritance of your saints"; EP IV: "to enter into our heavenly inheritance") together with the Mother of God, the apostles and all the saints.[99]

Nor is this limited merely to heretics and schismatics who, in virtue of baptism, lay claim to the name "Christian." Even pagans get in on the act:

> This universalist perspective in which a loving God is seen at work throughout the world is continued in the intercession for the dead. The prayer does not only ask that the dead "brothers and sisters," that is, Christians, be gathered into the kingdom of God. It intercedes for "all those who were pleasing to you"... these, as distinct from the "brothers and sisters" are non-Christians who have lived "justly." God acts in the world to establish his reign of justice and he acts there on a scale that transcends the limits of the Church.[100]

During one of my Mass-sampling forays in the Diocese of Rochester in the 1980s, I personally heard a colleague of Father Chuck take such ecumenism to its logical conclusion. In the Eucharistic Prayer, the priest named not only the Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Rochester, but also the local Protestant Episcopal bishop. Sometimes post-Vatican II liturgical practices are beyond parody.[101]

**13. Analysis.** At this point, we need simply restate the obvious. Given the opportunity to correct the "deplorable impoverishment" and "liturgical decadence" of the Roman Canon by introducing other Eucharistic Prayers culled from the much-touted golden ages of liturgical antiquity, the revisers took

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99. Cabié, 211–2.

100. Mazza, 148.

101. Here I should add that this incident and the one that I recounted about Father Chuck at the beginning of Chapter 8 did indeed occur — representing what modernist New Testament scholars might call the "Father Chuck of history," as distinct from a "Father Chuck of faith," whom ongoing theological reflection in this book has developed from the kernel of his few *ipsissima verba* ("Good morning").

from those sources only those concepts and phrases that could be reconciled with "the mentality of modern man" — i.e., the modernist world-view.

Thus, instead of Hippolytus, the "re-discovered" Roman ideal of a Eucharistic prayer, or the "substance" of the Antiochene *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, in the Mass of Paul VI we get stripped-down, half-plagiarized texts that Vagaggini and company cobbled together in the 1960s (EPs 2–4). Or, we get totally new creations complete with shallow 60s humanist, God-in-our-midst theology (EPs for Reconciliation and for Various Needs), and even baby-talk (EPs for Children).

All this is seasoned with the thoroughly modern and modernist desideratum of ecumenism toward heretics, schismatics and pagans — a notion that would have filled early Christians with horror. The only recognition they extended to such people is best summed up in the greeting of St. John's disciple, Polycarp, to the heretic Marcion: *Cognosco primogenitum diaboli* — I recognize the first-born of the devil.

Anyone who seeks to subject the Mass of Paul VI to a "hermeneutic of discontinuity and rupture" vis-à-vis tradition need look no further than the new Eucharistic Prayers. Once again, Dom Guéranger's observation is on the mark: liturgical reformers who begin by saying they will restore Christian antiquity always end by producing new formulas no older than yesterday.

## CHANGES IN THE CONSECRATION

Having worked our way through the many different facets of the revisers' systematic demolition of the Roman Canon, we turn our attention finally to the most important and sacred part of the Canon, the Consecration itself.

In the traditional Mass, the term *Consecration* is applied to that part of the Roman Canon that contains the words spoken by Our Lord at the Last Supper which transform the bread and wine into His Body and Blood. The rubrics for the traditional Mass call these words the *Words of Consecration*.[102]

The rubrics of the traditional Missal further specify that these words are the *form of the Sacrament*[103] — that is, the short essential formula in each sacramental rite that actually produce the sacrament's effect.

As with the priestly gestures in the Canon, these details, when taken together, point to the whole magnificent edifice of Catholic teaching on the Blessed Sacrament, the priesthood and Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The priest, acting in the person of Christ Himself, utters the words of Christ Himself, and transforms — consecrates — the bread and wine into the Body, Blood, soul and divinity of Christ, which transformation is effected objectively once

102. "verba consecrationis." See the rubrics in the Canon and *Ritus Servandus* 8.5, 7.

103. "Verba autem consecrationis, quae sunt forma hujus Sacramenti..." *De Defectibus* 5.

the priest has recited the *form* of the Sacrament — those words which actually produce the effect.

**1. From Consecration to Narrative.** Retaining terms and concepts like Consecration, Words of Consecration and form of the Sacrament in the creation of the new Eucharistic Prayers would have posed the usual problems.

First, ecumenism: Protestantism rejects all the theology underlying this language. We turn again to Luther Reed:

> [T]he consecration is not effected mechanically and at a precise moment and place by the recitation of the Dominical Words as the Romanists teach... [W]e dare not limit the thought of consecration to the precise moment of recitation of the Verba... We rejected the "category of space" inherent in the doctrine of transubstantiation. We dare not retain the category of time inherent in the same false doctrine. As we do not limit the divine presence to wafer or wine, so *we should not even seem to restrict divine power to a single moment.*[104]

Consequently, instead of referring to the *Consecration* or the *Words of Consecration*, Protestants speak of an *Institution Narrative* and the *Words of the Lord* (or *of Institution* or *Dominical Words*), or simply the *Verba* (words).[105]

Second, this Protestant terminology, in turn, fits in nicely with modernist sacramental theology, which destroys defined doctrines by substituting new terminology that short-circuits their meaning. *Institution Narrative* and *Words of the Lord* (not that modernists believe that Scripture records the *actual* "words of Jesus," of course...), however, are sufficiently vague and neutral to allow for whatever the next stage of dogmatic evolution, doctrinal convergence and joint ecumenical declarations may bring.

Moreover, the connotation of the word "consecration" is excessively sacral. It is thus not in harmony with the mentality of contemporary (=secularized) man and too redolent of "Tridentine" concepts that need to be surpassed (the dead-end theories of sacrifice, transubstantiation, etc.).

The term *form of the Sacrament* is even more offensive to modernists, because it summons up the whole world of classical Catholic scholastic theology, with all its precise definitions, distinctions, theses, propositions, arguments, qualifications and responses to objections. For modernists, "context" is everything, and so they derided the concept of an essential sacramental form as "magic words" — instead, "the *whole* Eucharistic Prayer makes Jesus present."[106] Thus Bouyer sniffed, "To reduce this action to a few words of God

104. *Lutheran Liturgy*, 348, 350. My emphasis.

105. See Reed, *passim*.

106. These errors were promoted seemingly everywhere by modernists after Vatican II.

in Christ... is simply a tendency to disintegrate the Christian Eucharist."[107]

Accordingly, in the 1969 General Instruction, which outlined the theological principles behind the New Mass, and in the documents promulgating and explaining the new Eucharistic Prayers themselves, any direct reference to the *Consecration* (the section of the Canon containing the consecration formulas) and *Words of Consecration* (the formulas themselves) disappeared.[108] In their place are the Protestant terms *Institution Narrative*[109] and *Words of the Lord.*[110]

Luther Reed, not to mention his namesake, would have been delighted that the Roman Church had finally seen the light.

As regards the traditional theological expression *form of the Sacrament*, it has disappeared completely from the legislation governing the Eucharistic Prayers and the official commentaries thereon. The catechetical guidelines Consilium issued to explain the new EPs speak instead of a "narrative-re-actualization"[111] — a neologism that sounds like it's connected with restarting a dead car battery.

And indeed in the Apostolic Constitution promulgating the new Missal, Paul VI himself employs the term *words of the Lord* in the very passage where one would have expected him to speak of the *form of the Sacrament.*[112]

**2. Modifications to the Text.** Thus the new labels and general concepts applied in the creation of the new EPs. How did this affect the text itself?

The Consecration section of the Roman Canon in the traditional Missal consists of two introductory passages followed by the Words of Consecration

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107. LP, 138.

108. As with the term "Offertory" after it was replaced by a Preparation of the Gifts, however, a few indirect uses of the term "consecration" can nevertheless be found in some of the 1968 legislation: In a document giving the rubrics for concelebration: "the memorial acclamation after the consecration," DOL 1934, 1937, 1939. In norms for explaining the new EPs: "consecratory epiclesis," DOL 1956. In a declaration making the "Lord's words" in the Roman Canon conform to those in the new EPs: "formularies of consecration... at the consecration of the bread ...at the consecration of the wine." In the rubrics of the EPs after the Words of the Lord are recited: "He shows the consecrated host to the people."

109. Consilium, Guidelines *Au Cours des Derniers Mois*, to assist catechesis on the anaphoras of the Mass, 2 June 1968, DOL 1947, 1950, 1955–7. GI 69, §55.d. "Narratio institutionis."

110. SC Rites (Consilium) *Norms* on the Use of Eucharistic Prayers I–IV, 23 May 1968, DOL 1934, 1937, 1939. 1969 *Ordo Missae*, before the "Institution Narrative" in each EP: "verba Domini."

111. Guidelines *Au Course*, DOL 1946–7.

112. Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum*. "iussimus verba dominica in qualibet Canonis formula una eademque esse." "we have ordered that the *words of the Lord* be identical in each form of the canon" — a strange phrase that prompted Father James Wathen to ask how Paul VI could order the words of the Lord to be anything other than what they actually were.

for the bread and wine respectively. In the new Eucharistic Prayers, these formulas underwent a number of changes meant to transform them into Words of the Lord fit for a proper Institution Narrative. Here are the two texts side by side:

| **Roman Canon**<br>"Consecration"<br>(Ritus Serv. 8, 9)<br>"Words of Consecration"<br>(Ordo Missae and Ritus Serv. 8.5, 7)<br>"Form of the Sacrament"<br>(De Defectibus 5) | **Eucharistic Prayers 1968, 1969**<br>"Institution Narrative"<br>(GI §55.d and "Guidelines" *passim*)<br>"Words of the Lord"<br>(Ordo Missae and "Norms" *passim*) |
|---|---|
| ...and gave it to his disciples, saying:<br>Take and eat ye all of this, | ...and gave it to his disciples, saying: |
| FOR THIS IS MY BODY | TAKE AND EAT YE ALL OF THIS,<br>FOR THIS IS MY BODY<br>WHICH WILL BE GIVEN UP FOR YOU |
| ... | ... |
| and gave it to His disciples, saying:<br>Take and drink ye all of this: | and gave it to His disciples, saying: |
| FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD<br>OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL TESTAMENT:<br>THE MYSTERY OF FAITH:<br>WHICH SHALL BE SHED<br>FOR YOU AND FOR MANY<br>UNTO THE REMISSION OF SINS | TAKE AND DRINK YE ALL OF THIS:<br>FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD<br>OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL TESTAMENT:<br>WHICH SHALL BE SHED<br>FOR YOU AND FOR MANY [ALL]<br>UNTO THE REMISSION OF SINS.<br>DO THIS IN COMMEMORATION OF ME. |

The principal differences are these:

(1) The command "Take and eat ye all of this" was joined to the beginning of the existing formula for the consecration of the host, and a new phrase, "which will be given up for you," was added to the end.

(2) The command "Take and drink ye all of this" was joined to the beginning of the existing formula for the consecration of the chalice, and a new phrase, "Do this in commemoration of me" was added to the end.

(3) The phrase "the mystery of faith" was removed from the existing formula for the consecration of the chalice, and relocated to serve as an introduction for the new Memorial Acclamations.

These changes, Braga said, were undertaken at the behest of "many bishops and priests, besides experts in the liturgical sciences" — i.e., the Liturgical Movement's modernist claque — who had proposed them for the sake of making the words "clearer." The formulas would thus "respond to the true needs of our time, especially as regards catechesis and pastoral work." This proposal, in turn, was seconded by the Fathers of the 1967 Synod.[113]

This was more modernist mumbo-jumbo. The real problem with the words was that they were *too* clear for Protestants and modernists.

In any event, from a comparison of the texts above, it can readily be seen that in the new Eucharistic Prayers, the shift from "consecration" to "institution narrative" was not just a matter of re-labeling the section. The revisers altered *the text of the rite itself* in such a way as to transform the passages into narratives. The old sacramental form was sandwiched between the commands of Our Lord recorded in Scripture (take and eat/drink, do this...) and an additional phrase also spoken by Our Lord (which will be given up for you).

The final product is a historical narrative that includes a quote.

**3. The Mystery of Faith.** The narrative mode of the new Words of the Lord was reinforced, moreover, by removing the phrase *mysterium fidei* — the mystery of faith — from the Words of Consecration over the chalice, and by relocating it to serve as an introduction to Memorial Acclamations inserted into the middle of the Eucharistic Prayer.

**(a) History and Meaning.** The phrase "mystery of faith" does not occur in any of the scriptural accounts of the Last Supper. But most ancient accounts of the institution of the Mass are never just biblical accounts restated. They go back to a pre-biblical tradition, because Mass was celebrated even before the Evangelists and St. Paul recorded the Gospel story.[114]

When and how *mysterium fidei* came to be used in the Words of Consecration in the Roman Canon has long been a topic of discussion and dispute among liturgical scholars. A parallel for the phrase is found in directions for Mass in the third century *Apostolic Constitutions*, which attributes to Our Lord Himself the words: "This is the *mystery* of the New Testament: Take of it, eat: this is my body that is broken for many unto the remission of sins."[115] Fortescue says that textual evidence for the use of the phrase already

113. Braga, "De Novis Precibus," 234–5.

114. Thus Jungmann in MRR 2:194–5 and others.

115. Quoted EEFL 618. "Hoc est mysterium novi testamenti, accipite ex eo, manducate, hoc est corpus meum quod pro multis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum." My emphasis.

appears in sixth and seventh century sacramentaries (missals) and that it may be connected with the role the of deacon to care for the chalice.[116]

Gassner provides a lengthy and interesting discussion of the issue in his book on the Roman Canon.[117] As usual, his comments are free of the arrogant and disrespectful tone one finds in the works of so many of the modernist writers. In his survey of the various theories, Gassner notes that the phrase is attributed to apostolic tradition itself:

> Many theologians maintain that the words "mysterium fidei" within the formula of consecration are a matter of divine apostolic tradition. Pope Leo IX declares that these words are "a tradition transmitted by St. Peter, the author of the Roman liturgy." Pope Innocent III says that these words were added to the words of consecration from apostolic tradition and refer to I Tim 3:9. St. Thomas holds these words as a matter of tradition, transmitted by the apostles to the Church.[118]

As regards the meaning of the phrase, Gassner says:

> The words "mysterium fidei" of the Canon are an apposition to "chalice of the New Testament"... The Eucharist is a mystery, it is a sacrament. In the Holy Eucharist there is hidden not only the divinity, but also the humanity, the body and the blood. It is the most excellent sacrament, because it contains all the glory of the mystery of Christ spoken of in I Tim 3:9, 16. The rest of the sacraments merely contain His power... The Eucharist is called mystery of faith (a) as object of faith: only by faith do we know of the real presence of Christ, of the real presence of his body and blood. It is called the mystery of faith (b) because the passion of Christ, represented in it, saves through faith. It is at the same time called the sacrament of love, with regard to what it signifies and what it effects.[119]

The phrase "mystery of faith," then, summons up and attests to the whole of Catholic doctrine on the Real Presence, the nature of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the effect the Words of Consecration have upon the bread and wine.

**(b) Removal from New EP's.** Once one has decided to transform the Consecration into an Institution Narrative, all such dogmatic baggage must be jettisoned, so "mystery of faith" had to go. And of course, modernists can always find reasons (apart from the *real* reason) for setting aside formulas hallowed by apostolic tradition. Thus in his memoirs, Bugnini offered five

116. TNM, 193.
117. *Canon of the Mass*, 278–88.
118. *Canon of the Mass*, 279.
119. *Canon of the Mass*, 285–6.

reasons to justify removing *mysterium fidei*.[120]

(1) The phrase "is not biblical." This is one of the typical objections that adherents of the Anti-Liturgical Heresy raise against formulas hallowed by ecclesiastical tradition.

The Catholic attitude is different. Once again, we turn to Gassner on *mysterium fidei*:

> If, however, the Church has inserted the words "mysterium fidei," there must have been an important reason, momentous motives. Although these words in that case would not be a part of the consecration formula, the mere fact that they were inserted within the words of consecration elevates them in their significance and dignity above the rest of the Canon, instituted by the Church, recited in the name of the Church. This apposition appears a very solemn statement, a high testimony, a pronouncement by the Church of the highest authority.[121]

So, if the Church herself did indeed insert "mystery of faith" into a biblical account, that is a reason for *retaining* the phrase, not *removing* it.

(2) The phrase, said Bugnini, "is found in the Roman Canon alone." See above. And in any case, which rite of the Mass was Bugnini engaged in reforming anyway? The Syro-Malankarese?

(3) *Mysterium fidei* is "of uncertain origin and meaning," and some experts "assign the phrase a quite dangerous meaning, since they translate it as 'a sign for our faith.'"

If so, the danger existed for over 1300 years without anyone noticing it — even the Protestants who taught Christ's presence in the Eucharist *was* a mere sign. And Bugnini's comment was a touching defense of transubstantiation; too bad he managed to leave the idea out of the 1969 General Instruction.

(4) The phrase "interrupts the sentence and makes difficult both its understanding and its translation." Again, amazing that the interruption troubled no one for 1300 years. Continuing to recite the Canon in Latin might have solved those tricky translation problems. However...

(5) "Many bishops and pastors have asked that in the new [Eucharistic Prayers] the addition 'mystery of faith' be dropped."

But the first objection — the phrase was "not biblical " — was the one that gave the game away. No scriptural account quotes "Mystery of faith" among the "Words of the Lord." And since the EPs replace a Consecration with an Institution Narrative, only Words of the Lord may be quoted therein.

120. RL, 447.

121. *Canon of the Mass*, 286–7.

**(c) Placement before Memorial Acclamations.** The excised phrase *mysterium fidei* was relocated to serve as an introduction to the newly created "Memorial Acclamation," a short phrase that the assembly is supposed to chant or recite after the Words of the Lord have been recited over the chalice. In the new EPs, there are three texts provided for this acclamation:

> (1) We proclaim your death, O Lord, and we acknowledge your resurrection until you come.
>
> (2) As often as we eat this bread and drink this chalice, we proclaim your death, O Lord, until you come.
>
> (3) Savior of the world, who has freed us through your cross and resurrection, save us.

The purpose of the acclamation, said Jungmann, is that of "helping the faithful to become more fully aware of the meaning of the action" — as if the previous practices of bells, incense, elevating the host high, lifting the priest's chasuble, reverential silence, and whispering "My Lord and my God" had been somehow insufficient.

Moreover, "there was a precedent for this in the Egyptian liturgies, in which the remembrance of the Lord was underlined by such an acclamation."[122] Why the venerable Roman Rite should imitate a liturgical practice of the schismatic Copts — Monophysite heretics renowned for theological ignorance, incoherent sacramental theology and irregular canonical discipline — is not entirely clear. But it was handy pretext for introducing an innovation to de-sacerdotalize the Canon a bit more with a vocal intervention from the assembly.

**(d) What "Mystery" Now?** So, if the "mystery of faith" in the Words of Consecration in the ancient Roman Canon represented, as so many writers say, a spontaneous affirmation of faith in the Real Presence, what "mystery of faith" does the phrase now proclaim in the new Eucharistic Prayers? The same Real Presence?

No, said Braga. Although the words *mysterium fidei* formerly had a definite meaning in the context of the formula of consecration (Bugnini, remember, said they didn't):

> in the new context they have a significantly different meaning — one much broader, which refers to the Eucharist itself in general. It would be regrettable if in popular explanations and in catechetical instructions the meaning would be limited to nothing more than the mystery of the real presence

122. TNM, 203.

under the Eucharistic species.[123]

And indeed, the relocated phrase *does* convey a different meaning. For when you analyze the texts of the acclamations that follow it, you immediately notice that the "mystery of faith" which they now proclaim is *eschatological* — a mystery that will take place at the *end of time* — rather than one connected (as before) to the Real Presence. On this point, the *Ottaviani Intervention* said:

> Furthermore, the people's Memorial Acclamation which immediately follows the Consecration — *We proclaim your death, O Lord... until you come* — introduces the same ambiguity about the Real Presence under the guise of an allusion to the Last Judgment. Without so much as a pause, the people proclaim their expectation of Christ at the end of time just at the moment when He is *substantially present* on the altar — as if Christ's *real* coming will occur only at the end of time rather than there on the altar itself.
>
> The second optional Memorial Acclamation brings this out even more strongly: "As often as we eat this bread and drink this chalice, we proclaim your death, O Lord, until you come." The juxtaposition here of entirely different realities — immolation and eating, the Real Presence and Christ's second Coming — brings ambiguity to a new height."[124]

Thus, the acclamations that follow it have shifted the signification of *mysterium fidei* to something quite different from an affirmation of the Real Presence, and of the sacrament and sacrifice in the present.

Surely, one would think, Bugnini and company somehow deceived Paul VI on this point. After all, he had written an Encyclical entitled *Mysterium Fidei.*

But again, one would be wrong. Consilium composed these three acclamations at the behest of Paul VI himself, who feared that if the choice of texts for the acclamations were left to bishops conferences, "unsuitable acclamations would be introduced, such as *Dominus meus et Deus meus*" — "My Lord and my God."[125]

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123. Braga, "De Novis Precibus," 236–7. "dum in novo contextu sensum aliquanto diversum et magis amplum accipiunt, qui respicit ipsam Eucharistiam in genere. At dolendum esset si significatio, in interpretationibus et in catechesi tradenda, ulterius limitaretur ad mysterium praesentiae Domini sub speciebus eucharisticis."

124. OI, 44. Original emphasis.

125. RL, 455n. "Il Papa dispose invece nella medesima udienza: 'si prepari una serie di acclamazioni (5 o 6) dopo la consacrazione per le anafore'. Lasciando l'iniziativa alle Conferenze episcopali, temeva che venissero introdotte acclamazioni non adatte, come 'Dominus meus et Deus meus.'"

**4. Effect of the Changes.** The principal changes that the Consecration of the Mass underwent in the new Eucharistic Prayers may be summed up as follows:

(1) *Change in the terms and concepts applied*: from consecration to institution narrative, and from words of consecration to words of the Lord. The notion of the "form of Sacrament" was dropped altogether.

(2) *Change in the liturgical text itself*: from a true sacramental form to a quote in a historical narrative.

(3) *Removal of "mystery of faith" and change in its meaning:* from an affirmation of faith in Real Presence here and now to an expression of faith in eschatological events.

As regards point (1), after the *Ottaviani Intervention* raised an objection against the term "Institution Narrative," Consilium inserted the phrase "and Consecration" into paragraph 55.d of the 1970 General Instruction. This change, to be sure, was nothing more than cosmetic; the creators of the New Mass had already told us they had produced an institution narrative. Slapping a new label on it did not change the reality.

But points (2) and (3), which pertained to *the rite itself* — the texts and ritual actions used for the Consecration — were left completely unchanged in the 1970 Missal. *Nothing* was done to alter them.

Thus, forty years later, the Institution Narrative in the Mass of Paul VI is still an institution narrative, not a consecration. The Words of the Lord in the New Mass are still just that, not words of consecration — still less, the "form of the Sacrament."[126] And the Mystery of Faith proclaimed in the New Mass is still eschatology, rather than the Real Presence.

Now, if you subscribe to the tenets of modernist sacramental theology, none of this will pose the slightest problem. In 2001 the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (then headed by that "watchdog of orthodoxy," Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger) decided that one of the anaphoras (canons) used for Mass by the schismatic Assyrians was valid, *even though it did not contain*

126. This would be somewhat analogous to a priest reciting all of Mt 28:19 ("Going therefore, teach ye all nations: baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.") as he poured the water at a baptism, rather than just saying "I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

*the words of consecration.*[127]

If you can say that a Mass is still a Mass even without the words *This is my Body* and *This is my Blood*, the thought that Paul VI replaced the consecration with an institution narrative is not going to cause you any loss of sleep. The old ideas have now been surpassed, thank God, and Catholic theology has sailed on to a new "substantial anchorage."

If, however, you still adhere to the principles of Catholic sacramental theology that were enunciated by popes, councils and theologians before Vatican II, you are faced with an enormous problem indeed. For, according to *these* principles, the recitation of the words of consecration in a narrative mode manifests a defect of intention that would render the consecration *invalid.*

Already in 1969 the *Ottaviani Intervention* noted some of the details mentioned above and raised just this possibility:

> All this, in short, changes the *modus significandi* of the words of Consecration — how they show forth the sacramental action taking place. The priest now pronounces the formulas for Consecration as part of an historical narrative, rather than as Christ's representative issuing the affirmative judgment *This is My Body.*[128]

In a footnote to this passage, the *Intervention* said that the validity of these words in the New Mass no longer comes from the force of the sacramental words themselves (*ex vi verborum*) or from the meaning (*modus significandi*) that the old rite gave to the formula for consecration.[129]

Pre-Vatican II treatises on the liturgy and sacramental theology that lay down the requirements for the validity of the consecration at Mass and examine invalidating defects in the sacramental form insist that the essential formulas must *not* be pronounced as a mere historical narrative:

> Defects in the Form of the Sacrament.... Any change in the form, by omission, addition or interpolation which would alter its *meaning* would make

127. CDF, "Guidelines for Admission to the Eucharist between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East," 20 July 2001. For a discussion, see Donald Sanborn, "O Sacrament Unholy," http://www.traditionalmass.org/articles/article.php?id=34&catname=15. "By the admission even of the Vatican itself, the Nestorians do not have a consecration formula in their anaphora (canon) of the Mass. Their priest never recites the words of consecration, 'This is My Body,' nor 'This is the chalice of My Blood...' with the subsequent words. Nor does he recite anything even similar to them." The CDF declaration maintains this is not necessary because "the words of Eucharistic Institution" are contained "in a dispersed euchological way, that is, integrated in successive prayers of thanksgiving, praise, and intercession." This principle entirely — entirely — overthrows Catholic doctrine on essential sacramental forms.

128. OI, 44.

129. See OI, 60n29. Archbishop Lefebvre also raised this point in a conference when I was a seminarian at Ecône in the 1970s.

> the consecration invalid... The Words of Consecration have to be said *not merely as an historical narrative* of words once used by Our Lord, — as the Celebrant recites them, e.g., in the accounts of the Last Supper which are read in the Mass in Holy Week, or on the Feast of Corpus Christi — but as a present affirmation, speaking in the person of Christ, and intending to effect something here and now, by pronouncing these words.[130]

> The Words of Consecration must be pronounced not only as if said by Christ *historically, narratively and recitatively*, for the purpose of narrating those things that Christ did... but they must also be said *assertively* or *significatively*, for the purpose of imitating Christ and applying the words to [the bread and wine] that is present.[131]

> How the words are to be pronounced: The Words of Consecration must be said not only *recitatively* (i.e. *materially*) but also *significatively* or *formally*, in such a way that the priest who consecrates not only refers to what Christ said, but moreover, in uttering those words, intends to affirm what they signify [*sonat*] — This is in truth the body and blood of Christ.[132]

In the Eucharistic Prayers of the Mass of Paul VI, however, this is *exactly* the invalidating defect that we find. The erstwhile sacramental forms found in the traditional Mass were transformed into *institution narratives*. This the creators of the New Mass made abundantly clear in §55.d of the 1969 *General Instruction*,[133] and the details of the rite itself confirm it. So the priest/president, instead of acting "significatively" or "assertively" in the person of Christ, now merely tells a story quoting words that Our Lord spoke long ago.

Thus, the crowning glory of the modernist despoliation of the hated Roman Canon: substantial changes in the form of the Sacrament that alter the intrinsic sense of the words, change the ministerial intention, and render the consecration — and the Mass of Paul VI — invalid.

No Body, no Blood, no Mass.

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130. J. O'Connell, *The Celebration of Mass: A Study of the Rubrics of the Roman Missal* (Milwaukee: Bruce 1941) 1:225–6. My emphasis.

131. B. Merkelbach, *Summa Theologiae Moralis*. 8th ed. (Motreal: Desclée 1949) 3:226. "Verba consecrationis proferenda sunt non tantum *historice, narrative* et *recitative* quasi a Christo dicta, ex intentione nempe narrandi quae Christus fecit:... sed etiam dicenda sunt *assertive* seu *significative* ex intentione imitandi Christum et applicandi verba materiae praesenti." His emphasis.

132. Felix Cappello, *Tractatus Canonico-Moralis de Sacramentis* (Rome: Marietti 1951) 1:289. "Verba consecrationis non solum *recitative*, i.e., *materialiter* dicenda sunt, sed etiam *significative* seu *formaliter*, quatenus sacerdos consecrans not tantum id referat quod Christus dixerit, sed praeterea, ea verba proferens, intendat affirmare quod ipsa sonat, scil., hoc esse revera corpus et sanguinem Christi." His emphasis.

133. "55. Praecipua elementa e quibus Prex eucharistica constat, hoc modo distingui possunt:... d) Narratio insitutionis:..."

## SUMMARY

• The term "Canon," applied to the great prayer of the Mass containing the consecration, connoted a fixed rule, something virtually unchangeable. In the post-Vatican II liturgical reform, the revisers changed the term to "Eucharistic Prayer" with a view towards allowing the use of multiple texts.

• The Prefaces in the new Missal do not represent an integral restoration of ancient texts, but "a mosaic of phrases" from those texts that could be "adapted to the modern mentality." Only a few texts were retained in their original form, which otherwise might have been "unbearable."

• Although one cannot give an exact date for its origin, the Roman Canon in the traditional Mass is extremely ancient. Some authors say it originates in apostolic tradition; others trace its core to the second and third centuries.

• The modernist wing of the Liturgical Movement had already targeted the Roman Canon for reform in the late 1940s.

• The motives for changing the Canon were the usual ones at work elsewhere in the reform of the Mass. The text of the Canon contained ideas that had long been the target of the Protestant heretics, so it presented an obstacle to ecumenism.

• For modernists, the Roman Canon was linked to "Tridentine" theology, did not conform to their conclusions on what was correct in such a prayer, smacked of negative theology and was non-participatory. It needed to be examined in light of textual criticism and psychological criteria in order to "more fittingly respond to the requirements of our times."

• The attitude of the revisers towards the Roman Canon is best summed up in the words of Bugnini, who said that it represented a "deplorable impoverishment" resulting from "centuries of liturgical decadence."

• Vatican II did not explicitly authorize a change in the Canon. Instead, general principles written into the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy were used to justify the change.

• Cipriano Vagaggini's 1966 book attacking the Canon and proposing alternative texts eventually led to Paul VI's decision to allow the introduction of alternative texts for the Roman Canon.

• One cannot say with certitude when or where the silent recitation of the Canon originated. It became widespread in the West by the year 800, most probably because of a spirit of awe in the presence of sacred mysteries. The Protestant heretics denounced the practice, and the Council of Trent in turn pronounced an anathema on all who condemned the silent recitation of the Canon.

• A silent Canon stood in the way of implementing the Liturgical Movement's theories on corporate worship. In 1967 the general pronouncements

in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy about the "instruction" contained in the liturgy and the need for "conscious" participation were employed to overturn the practice.

• In 1967, together with the introduction of the recitation of the Canon aloud, approved vernacular translations of the Canon mistranslated the phrase *pro multis* in the words of consecration over the chalice as "for all."

• In 1968, Patrick Henry Omlor produced a lengthy study exposing this fraud and demonstrating that the mistranslation rendered the consecration invalid. His work alerted a number of Catholics in the U.S. to the dangers of the liturgical reforms. Defenders of the liturgical changes maintained that the translation "for all" was correct and based their position on the supposed sense of the Aramaic. The 2006–8 translations, however, finally dropped this mistranslation in favor of the correct rendering: "for many."

• In 1968, Paul VI promulgated four Eucharistic Prayers. Between 1974 and 2002, nine more Eucharistic Prayers were created or redacted, and then incorporated into the Missal. The new prayers followed the principles enunciated by modernist textual critics.

• The rubrics for the new Eucharistic Prayers reduced to a minimum the priestly gestures in the Canon. These possessed a mystical symbolism, affirmed the priest's unique role in offering the sacrifice and expressed profound reverence for the Real Presence. Their abolition undermined the doctrinal truths that they expressed.

• Although Eucharistic Prayer I is entitled "The Roman Canon" in the new Missal, the label is incorrect because (1) other texts may be substituted for it, and (2) the revisers either altered or rendered optional sections of the existing text.

• The rest of the new Eucharistic Prayers (1) do not represent a "restoration" of ancient Christian liturgical texts, (2) are late twentieth-century creations, incorporating even the bromides of modern "horizontal" theology, doctrinal baby-talk, and the "theology of the world," and (3) in conformity with the ecumenical theology of Vatican II, and contrary to all previous liturgical law and practice, offer liturgical intercessory prayers for heretics, schismatics and even pagans, living and dead.

• The texts of the new Eucharistic Prayers therefore represent a total break with the continuous liturgical tradition of the Roman Rite.

• In the Eucharistic Prayers, moreover, major changes were introduced into the section that the Roman Canon formerly referred to as the Consecration. (1) This section was re-denominated as the "Institution Narrative," the Words of Consecration became the "Words of the Lord," and the notion of the "form of the Sacrament" was omitted altogether. (2) The liturgical text

itself was re-arranged to change the essential sacramental form into a quote in a historical narrative. (3) The phrase "mystery of faith," a spontaneous expression of faith in the mystery of the Real Presence here and now, was excised from the formula recited over the chalice, relocated as an introduction to the Memorial Acclamation, and transformed into an expression of faith in events that will occur at the end of time.

• While such changes were made to accommodate the Mass to the requirements of ecumenism and modernist sacramental theology, according to the principles of pre-Vatican II Catholic sacramental theology, the recitation of the words of consecration in a narrative mode (1) constitutes a substantial defect in the essential sacramental intention, and (2) renders the consecration, and thus the Mass, invalid.

• Although those who adhere to the ecumenical and existentialist sacramental theology of the post-Vatican II era may see no particular difficulty with this, those who still adhere to the standard ideas of Catholic sacramental theology can only conclude one thing: no Real Presence and no real Mass.

Deplorable impoverishment indeed...

Chapter 13

# The Communion Rite: Impiety in Action

As the liturgical changes were introduced gradually in the 1960s, the one practice that conservatives regarded with the greatest horror was communion in the hand. The symbolism of the act overthrew *everything* Catholics had hitherto believed about the Mass, the Blessed Sacrament and the priesthood.

It started out as an abuse — a deliberate violation of liturgical law — that occurred at a few "underground" Masses. At the time, it seemed inconceivable that such a shockingly irreverent practice could ever become widespread.

One day early in 1969 when I was still a senior in the seminary high school, I wandered into the choir loft of the chapel and looked down to see a small group of college seminarians standing around the altar for what was called a "group Mass." The priest, a teddy-bear type given to turning nouns into verbs and dropping definite articles ("Jesus gifts us with Eucharist to be Church..."), was in the process of distributing communion in the hand. Since I was planning to enter the seminary college that fall, I found this event profoundly depressing.

On the other hand, I knew the Holy Father would soon put an end to all these irreverent and sacrilegious practices once and for all by publishing a new Order of Mass. *That* would fix the teddy bear's wagon!

Well, as it turned out, not exactly...

Our examination of the Mass of Paul VI thus far has concentrated primarily on the doctrinal deficiencies of the rite. Since the ceremonies of the Communion Rite focus upon the Blessed Sacrament, we will turn our attention now to the second part of our thesis as well: those elements of the New Mass that not only attack the faith, but also provoke irreverence and impiety.

In this chapter, we will treat (1) The Our Father. (2) The *Libera Nos*. (3) The preparations for communion. (4) The distribution of communion. (5) Communion in the hand. (6) The rites after communion. (7) The Concluding Rite. (8) The cumulative effect of the ritual changes in the Communion Rite.

## THE OUR FATHER

Beginning in the fourth century, Greek and Latin sources alike indicate that the Our Father was used at Mass. In both the traditional Mass and the Mass of Paul VI, the prayer appears at the beginning of the Communion

Rite, and is preceded by an introductory text which, except for the *Oremus*, is identical in both rites:

> **Priest:** [Let us pray]
> Taught by our Savior's command,
> and formed by the word of God
> we dare to say.

Although the 1969 Order of Mass itself retained the traditional text for this introduction, it was not obligatory,[1] and thus provides another opportunity for a warm and welcoming "Father Chuck moment." The American Sacramentary (altar missal) features four options for the introduction; liturgical resource services offered a different introduction for every Sunday and Holy Day.

In the traditional Mass the priest alone recites or chants the Our Father, the server or choir responds with the phrase *But deliver us from evil* and the priest adds the final Amen. In the New Mass the priest and congregation recite the entire prayer together:

> **All:** Our Father...
> and lead us not into temptation.
> But deliver us from evil.
> [Amen.]

Naturally, the new practice (it appeared in trial-balloon form in the 1955 Good Friday Communion Service) was portrayed as restoring to the people a prayer that had been snatched away from them. But a passage in St. Augustine attests that in North Africa the faithful did *not* recite the Our Father: "At the altar of God this prayer of the Lord is said daily, and the faithful *listen* to it."[2]

More significant still was the practice in Rome. Here too, the priest alone — and *not* the people — recited the *Pater Noster*. St. Gregory himself said that this was distinctive feature of the Roman Rite: "Although among the Greeks the Lord's Prayer is said by all the people, among us it is recited *by the priest alone*."[3]

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1. Again, the culprit is SCDW, *Eucharistiae Participationem* §14, DOL 1988: "by their very nature such introductions do not require that they be given verbatim in the form they have in the Missal." The priest may adapt them "to the actual situation of a community."

2. *Sermo* 58:10.12, PL 38:399. My emphasis. "In ecclesia enim ad altare Dei quotidie dicitur ista Dominica oratio, et audiunt illam fideles."

3. *Epistola* 9:12, PL 77:957. My emphasis. "Sed et Dominica oratio apud Graecos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo sacerdote." A rubric for the deacon at Solemn High Mass in the traditional rite likewise underscores the idea that the prayer pertains in a special way to the priest: before the Our Father the deacon descends from the side of the priest to a lower step and returns when the priest is finished chanting the prayer.

The revisers themselves even felt compelled to cite a precedent for their "striking innovation" (as they called it): the 1958 Instruction on Sacred Music, which allowed the congregation to recite the Our Father together with the priest at a Dialogue Mass.[4]

The common recitation of the Our Father, then, is a substantial departure from the liturgical tradition of the Roman Rite, and another instance in which assembly theology trampled on tradition.

The revisers also dropped the Amen from the end of the Our Father. Though seemingly a small detail, this is not exactly an insignificant change, because it is traditionally considered to be a part of the prayer. The Latin Vulgate Bible places an Amen at the end of the Our Father (see Mt 6:13), and the extremely ancient rite for the baptism of adults explicitly treats the word as the completion of the prayer.[5] As a result of the omission, laymen who assist at the New Mass drop the Amen from the Our Father when they pray it *outside* Mass as well.[6] Thus the new liturgy has taught them, contrary to ancient tradition, never to complete their prayer.[7]

Here we should mention postures that the laity sometimes adopt for the Our Father in trendier U.S. parishes like Father Chuck's. Members of the congregation now either hold hands with each other, or raise their hands or hold them out and cupped upwards as the Mohammedans do. These practices originated with the charismatic movement, and would naturally draw objections from young neo-conservatives like Father Retreaux.[8]

## THE LIBERA NOS

In both the traditional Mass and the Mass of Paul VI, the Our Father is followed by another prayer called either the *Libera Nos* (Deliver us) or the

4. Barba, 290–1. "La novità più rilevante..."

5. In the pre-Vatican II *Roman Ritual*, after the catechumen recites the Our Father kneeling, the priest exhorts him: "Rise, complete thy prayer, and say *Amen*," to which the catechumen replies *Amen*.

6. When saying the Rosary at a wake, I can judge the relative percentage of people present who go to the New Mass from how many seem to omit the Amen at the end of the Our Father. Another indicator, by the way, is the response to the Apostles' Creed. Since post-Vatican II churches are mostly Rosary-free zones, dead silence for the second part of the Creed means that the only person in the room who ever went near a traditional Mass (and thus also a Rosary) was the deceased.

7. The rationale for dropping the Amen from the end of the Our Father (as well as the *Oremus* from the introduction to it) was SC §50 (DOL 50), which laid down that duplications "added with little advantage" should be eliminated from the liturgy. The Amen, moreover, appeared in the Latin Vulgate New Testament, but not in the Greek text — and no modernist would even *think* of relying on a Latin text rather than a Greek one.

8. Ms. Gauleiter would shoot him down by saying that it's all "organic development," and telling him to go read Dom Alcuin Reid.

Embolism (because it enlarges or expands the idea of the last phrase of the Our Father).

**1. Textual Omissions and Changes.** The text employed at the traditional Mass appears in the *Ordo Romanus I* (a seventh-century description of the papal Mass) and in the eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentary. At first, the priest chanted the prayer aloud, a practice retained in the Mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday. Around the year 1000, however, silent recitation was introduced, probably because the prayer appeared in the section of the Mass that commentators thought represented in a special way the Passion of Christ.[9] For this reason, only the conclusion then was recited aloud.

In the Missal of Paul VI the words bracketed below were omitted and the words in *italics* were added. The entire prayer is recited aloud.

> **Priest:** Deliver us, we beseech you, O Lord
> from every evil
> [past, present and future:
> and by the intercession of the blessed and glorious Mary, ever-virgin,
> together with your blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and Andrew
> and all the Saints]
> mercifully grant peace in our days,
> that assisted by the help of your mercy,
> we may be free from evil,
> and secure from all disturbance
> [through Jesus Christ, your Son, our Lord...}
> *awaiting the blessed hope and coming*
> *of our Savior Jesus Christ.*

As regards the omissions and additions in the new text:

• The reference to evils that are "past, present and future" was removed, obviously, because it was too negative. It turns out to be a quote from St. Jerome.

• The elimination of the explicit mention of Our Lady, St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Andrew was consonant with the general principle in the liturgical reform of downgrading the honors rendered to the saints.[10] The saints' names, said Patino in his commentary, "seem unnecessary in a prayer that counts on the mediation of Christ who makes his own the voice of the assembly"[11] —

9. MRR 2:289.
10. LRC, 348–9. St. Gregory added the name of St. Andrew to the prayer. He had established a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew on the Coelian Hill.
11. OMP, 172.

ecumenism, modernism and assembly theology again.

• The conclusion *Through the same Jesus Christ...* has been changed, says Patino in favor of a reference to awaiting the blessed hope and the coming of our Savior Jesus Christ,

> restoring the primitive sense that has been kept in all the Eastern liturgies as well as in those of our separated brethren. More vivid awareness of the Lord's presence in the assembly should now give life to the Eucharistic celebration.[12]

More ecumenism and assembly theology.

**2. A Proclamation of Protestantism.** At the end of the *Libera Nos*, the revisers added the following response:

> **People:** For the kingdom, the power and the glory are yours for ever.

Braga says the phrase "is common in many other liturgies of our separated brethren, and therefore brings with it great ecumenical importance."[13]

You bet it does. It positively *reeks* of Protestantism.

The response was a gloss (non-scriptural addition) to the Our Father that appeared in some Greek texts of St. Matthew's Gospel, but not in the official Latin Vulgate; the Protestants therefore adopted it as a way of distinguishing themselves from Catholics. Before Vatican II, adding the phrase to the Our Father was (like singing *A Mighty Fortress is Our God*) a ringing and defiant proclamation of your Protestantism. In Albert H. Malotte's *The Lord's Prayer*, a hammy musical setting of the Our Father, the phrase was the dramatic high point of the whole piece, and was belted out at top volume in Protestant churches and Billy Graham Crusades throughout America.[14]

Because of its Greek origins, the phrase is used in Eastern-rite liturgies. But there it is a prayer reserved to the *priest*, so much so that in his absence from the Divine Office it is omitted.[15] Msgr. Klaus Gamber therefore noted:

> [S]ince it is recited by the people and also because of the text used, in the New Order of the Mass it is obviously an adaptation of the Protestant example.[16]

So even on this point, the Mass of Paul VI follows "Protestant tradition."

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12. OMP, 172–3.
13. Braga, "In Novum Ordinem," 370.
14. And during Masses at the seminary where I studied, as well.
15. Cabié, 214n.
16. *Reform of the Roman Liturgy*, 57. See also Cabié, 214n.

**3. Rubrical Changes.** As we noted in Chapter 11, in the traditional Mass the host rests on the altar for the sacrificial portion of the Mass (Offertory and Canon), and then is placed on the dish-like paten only at this point, for the meal (Communion) portion of the rite. As he recites the prayer the priest takes the paten, makes the sign of the cross with it, places the Host on the paten, breaks the Host twice, and holds a small particle of it over the chalice.

In the *Novus Ordo*, however, the host rests in the paten throughout the rite, a symbolic indication that the service is in its entirety an assembly-supper.[17]

## PREPARATIONS FOR COMMUNION

**1. The Sign of Peace.** The first recorded use of the Pax prayer was in Germany in the eleventh century, and in 1570 Pope St. Pius V introduced it into the Roman Missal. It is the first formal prayer in the *Ordo Missae* that is addressed to Christ;[18] up to this point in the Mass, the prayers have all been addressed to God the Father.

The Pax prayer is an *apologia*, a protestation of the priest's own unworthiness as he prepares to give the Pax (embrace of peace). Accordingly, at the traditional Mass the priest bows and recites the prayer quietly.

In the Mass of Paul VI, the prayer has been transformed into a common prayer for the congregation that the priest recites or chants aloud. This was done, says Braga, to imitate the practice at ecumenical worship services:

> The recent custom to use this prayer in ecumenical gatherings to pray for the peace and unity of Christians had a great influence in making this prayer common and more solemn.[19]

Since Pope St. Pius V was a former inquisitor, it is possible that devotional practices at ecumenical gatherings did not greatly influence his decision to include this prayer in the 1570 Missal — but in any case, the text is nearly identical in both rites:

> **Priest:** Lord Jesus Christ, you said to your apostles:
> Peace I leave you, my peace I give you.
> Look not upon our [my] sins, but upon the faith of your Church,
> and deign to grant her peace and unity according to your will.

17. I am aware of the practical considerations that may have initially prompted the practice of removing the paten from the altar. But like many things in the liturgy, the action eventually acquired a symbolic connotation. And by changing the action, the revisers altered the symbolic meaning as well.

18. MRR 2:330–1.

19. Braga, "In Novum Ordinem," 370.

Who live and reign [God] forever and ever.
**People**: Amen.

At Solemn High Mass in the traditional rite, the Pax follows this prayer. The priest kisses the altar, gives the Pax to the deacon, and it is then passed along in descending hierarchical order. When a layman receives the Pax, he does so after the clergy, who bring it to him with a *pax brede* (a disk inscribed with a religious symbol) that the layman kisses. In ancient times, the reception of the Pax by members of laity took place only when they were separated according to sex.[20]

Following the Pax prayer in the New Mass, the priest greets the people with a formula that in the old rite occurs directly after the *Libera nos*:

**Priest:** May the peace of the Lord be with you always.
**People:** And with your spirit.

In the new rite, the actual exchange of the Pax (Sign of Peace) may follow at this point, but it is not absolutely required. The priest or the deacon invites those present to exchange the Pax, and he may use these or similar words (the latter, of course, allows for another Father Chuck Moment):

**Priest:** Offer each other the sign of peace.

Contrary to the practice in the traditional rite, the Sign of Peace in the New Mass does not descend hierarchically from Christ (symbolized by the altar), to the priest (His representative), to the lower clergy, and to laymen (if any); rather, the clergy and laymen give the Pax to *each other*. The 2000 General Instruction emphasizes this point, based, no doubt, on the recognition of the presence of Christ in the assembly.

For a description of *how* one should convey the Sign of Peace, we turn to Patino's 1969 commentary:

> It should be a sign that really signifies, one that is both religious and friendly.... A friendly handshake or a brief embrace, depending on the kind of relationship that exists between the people giving peace — this would be sufficient. Someday in the future liturgists will point out the artificiality of the law — for it never happens that persons in the middle of a dinner stop and shake hands![21]

Finally, as Catholics have been pointing out ever since the practice was introduced, handshaking is a desacralizing distraction at the very moment one should be quietly preparing to receive communion. Some liturgists have

20. LRC, 362.
21. OMP, 174.

therefore proposed relocating the rite to a position before the Preparation of the Gifts. I propose relocating it to a position in the parish social hall before the doughnut table.

**2. Fraction and Commingling.** At the Mass of Paul VI the priest then breaks the host (the fraction) and drops a particle of it into the chalice (the commingling) as he recites a short formula which also appeared in the old rite. (The words in brackets are omitted.)

> **Priest:** May this mingling [and consecration]
> of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ
> bring those of us who receive it to life everlasting.

In the traditional rite, the fraction itself has already taken place over the chalice during the *Libera nos.* The commingling takes place after the *Pax Domini sit semper.*

In the New Mass the priest performs the fraction over the paten. A very large host may be used. The priest does not have to consume it all himself, and he may distribute parts of it to the laity.[22] If a number of large hosts are used, the fraction may continue.

**3. Agnus Dei.** Pope Sergius (687–701) ordered the Agnus Dei to be introduced into the Mass. He was of Syrian origin from Palermo where the Byzantine Rite may have inspired its use. At first, the Agnus Dei was sung by the chanters or congregation during the fraction, while during the Carolingian period (ninth century), it was chanted for the Pax or the Communion.[23]

In the traditional Mass, the priest recites the Agnus Dei, and at High Mass, the choir also sings it; in the New Mass, the priest and people recite it together.

> Lamb of God, who take away the sins of the world, have mercy on us.
> Lamb of God, who take away the sins of the world, have mercy on us.
> Lamb of God, who take away the sins of the world, grant us peace.

As the priest recites the text at the traditional Mass, he bows with his eyes fixed on the host, and strikes his breast at *have mercy on us.* At a Requiem Mass, *have mercy on us* and *grant us peace* are replaced with *grant them rest* and *grant them eternal rest.*

In the New Mass, the bows and striking of the breast have been suppressed, and the priest conducts the fraction during the Agnus Dei.

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22. OMP, 175.
23. LRC, 357.

**4. Priest's Preparation.** In both rites before the reception of communion, the priest recites private preparatory prayers that are *apologiae* from the ninth and tenth centuries respectively. In old rite, the priest recites both prayers; in the new rite, the priest may choose one of the two:

> Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God
> who by the will of the Father,
> and the work of the Holy Spirit
> through your death gave life to the world:
> free me through your [most sacred] Body and Blood
> from all my iniquities and all evils,
> and make me to always cling to your commandments,
> and never be separated from you.
> [Who live...]

> May the receiving of your Body and Blood, Lord Jesus Christ,
> [which I, though unworthy, presume to receive]
> bring me not to judgment and condemnation,
> but because of your mercy be to me
> a safeguard of and remedy for soul and body.
> [Who live...]

In the traditional Mass the priest recites these prayers while bowed and gazing at the host; this was abolished in the new rite.

The revisers eliminated the phrase "which I, though unworthy, presume to receive," probably on grounds of negative theology. Paul VI personally ordered that the adjective *sacrosanctum* (most sacred) referring to the Body and Blood of Christ be eliminated.[24]

## DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNION

The traditional Latin Mass has a two-fold rite for the reception of Holy Communion, first for the priest, and then for the people.

The priest quietly recites a series of short prayers, accompanied by various ritual actions (genuflections, signs of the cross, bows, striking of the breast, gestures of recollection and unworthiness, gathering up of particles of the host, etc.) that express both faith in the miracle of the Real Presence and humility in the face of such a mystery.

Once the priest has finished making his own communion, he adds another rite if any of the faithful present are to receive. The ministers or servers bow and begin the *Confiteor* on behalf of all who are to receive. The priest

24. RL, 375. "Togliere: 'sacrosancta'. [sic]"

opens the tabernacle, genuflects, takes the ciborium out, uncovers it, genuflects, and turns to face those who will receive. He then recites the following prayers (to which the ministers respond *Amen*), and blesses the communicants:

> May Almighty God have mercy on you, forgive you your sins, and bring you to life everlasting.
>
> May the Almighty and most merciful Lord grant you pardon, + absolution and remission of your sins.

The priest turns back to the ciborium, genuflects, and then shows a host to the communicants while he recites *Behold the Lamb of God,* etc. and *O Lord, I am not worthy.*

The two-fold rite expresses the distinction between the role of the priest at Mass and that of the faithful who are present. The priest receives communion because this is an *integral part of the sacrifice.* Reception by the faithful present, though praiseworthy, is *not* integral to the sacrifice itself, and the rubrics of the traditional Mass reflected this.[25]

Needless to say, the Mass of Paul VI combined the communion of the priest and communion of the people (the assembly celebrates, the priest presides...), and suppressed the negative prayers (*Confiteor*, etc.).

The precedent for combining the priest and the people's communion, however, had already been set in the 1962 Missal of John XXIII. These transitional rubrics suppressed the *Confiteor*, the *Misereatur* and the *Indulgentiam* before the communion of the people. After the priest consumed the Precious Blood, he immediately showed a host to the people while reciting *Ecce Agnus Dei*, etc.[26]

**1. Combined Communion.** In the new, combined rite in the Mass of Paul VI, the priest shows the host to the people while he recites the following prayer:

> **Priest:** Behold the Lamb of God,
> behold him who takes away the sins of the world.

25. In many places, moreover, it was not customary to distribute Holy Communion to the faithful during Solemn High Mass or Pontifical High Mass, either because doing so would have greatly lengthened the time for the service or because many people found it easier to communicate at an earlier Low Mass, due to the fasting rules.

26. Despite this, traditionalist groups which in theory observe the rubrics of the Missal of John XXIII (some diocesan parishes that operate under the Motu Proprio, the Society of St. Pius X in the United States, and others) follow the anomalous practice of continuing to use the *Confiteor*, *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam* before the distribution of communion.

*Blessed are they who are called to the supper of the Lamb.*

**People:** O Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof, but only say the word, and my soul shall be healed. (Once)

The revisers introduced the phrase *Blessed are they who are called to the supper of the Lamb* in order to offset the "negative" phrase that follows, a protestation of the communicant's unworthiness. Moreover, the priest and people recite the phrase *O Lord, I am not worthy*, not three times as before, but only once — let's not overdo the unworthiness, please.

Following this, the priest receives communion as he quietly recites the following formulas:

May the Body of [Our Lord Jesus] Christ preserve me [my soul] unto life everlasting. [Amen.]

May the Blood of [Our Lord Jesus] Christ preserve me [my soul] unto life everlasting. [Amen.]

As was the case in the orations for the dead, the revisers eliminated the word *anima* (soul) from these formulas. Jungmann explains that the word was suppressed "apparently as a deliberate reaction against the somewhat Platonic tendency of the Middle Ages to over-accentuate the spiritual"[27] — not exactly a great danger in the 1960s, to be sure. But in any event, the formula predates those dreaded Middle Ages, and was used by St. Gregory the Great himself.[28]

Likewise suppressed in the *Novus Ordo*: the priest blessing himself with the host and chalice, and bowing at the Holy Name, as well as the two texts that preceded the communion of the priest in the old rite:

I will take the heavenly bread, and call upon the name of the Lord.

What return shall I make to the Lord for all He has given me?
I shall take the chalice of salvation and invoke the name of the Lord.
With high praises, I shall call upon the Lord,
and I shall be saved from my enemies.

The liturgical use for both these texts dates from the thirteenth century. The allusions to the unworldly (*heavenly* bread?) and the negative (enemies) would perhaps have been troublesome for the psychology of modern man.

The formula for giving the host to the communicant in the old rite is similar to the one for the communion of the celebrant:

27. TNM, 212.

28. See John the Deacon, *S. Gregorii Magni Vita*, 2.41, PL 75:103. "Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet animam tuam..."

> May the Body of Our Lord Jesus + Christ preserve your soul unto life everlasting. Amen.

As the priest recites the formula, he blesses the communicant with the host and bows at the Holy Name.

In the new rite, the text and rubrics are gone. The word *soul*, the bow and the blessing probably showed once again that unfortunate tendency to "over-accentuate the spiritual." Again, note the typical practice of suppressing a blessing and a sign of the cross.

Instead, the priest in the new rite says to each communicant "The Body of Christ," to which the person responds "Amen." This, for a change, actually *was* a restoration of an ancient practice. Communicants in the ancient Church did indeed respond "Amen" to the formula for the administration of communion, as is evident from the writings of Tertullian, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.[29] In *De Sacramentis*, St. Ambrose specifically mentions the practice,[30] and the Amen made by the communicant survived in ordinations performed with the old Roman Pontifical.

**2. Communion Chant.** In the traditional Mass the Communion Antiphon is read by the priest, and at High Mass, also sung by the choir.

Like the Introit Antiphons, the Communion Antiphons in the Missal of Paul VI were redistributed following the new liturgical calendar. These are printed together with the Introit, Collect, Prayer over the Gifts, and Post-Communion prayer prescribed for each feast or liturgical observance.

The first recorded use for a chant at communion comes from the fourth century. A typical text: Psalm 33, *Taste and see, how sweet is the Lord.* The antiphons have a complex history, and the evidence for the older practices seem to come primarily from the East.

It seems to be an open question whether or not communicants in ancient times participated in singing during the distribution of communion. In the *Ordo Romanus I*, the singing alternated between the choir and the subdeacons. At the end of the thirteenth century, in some places the Antiphon was sung in alternation with Psalm verses.[31]

As a church musician, I find it difficult to see how a congregation in the ancient Church could have sung the prescribed Communion chants in alternation with a choir or a cantor. The texts are not particularly short, the music (in the Gradual, at least) is often complicated, and both the text and the melody change from Sunday to Sunday. All this would have conspired

29. LRC, 375–6.
30. LRC, 376.
31. LRC, 382–4.

against congregational participation and thus rendered ancient customs an unconvincing precedent for the practices in the new rite.

In the Mass of Paul VI, approaching the sanctuary in order to receive communion is now called a "procession." According to the General Instruction, the function of the chant is to

> express outwardly the communicants' union in spirit by means of the unity of their voices, to give evidence of joy of heart, and to make the procession to receive Christ's body more fully an act of community.[32]

Note again the assembly theology: a "procession," with unity of voices and an act of community.

The General Instruction says that the antiphon from the new Gradual, an antiphon with a psalm, or another song may be used during communion, and this may be sung by the choir alone, or by the congregation alternating with cantor and choir.[33]

The latter practice, an alternating responsorial-style song selected by the Director of Worship, seems to be the most common.

In some parishes, a cantor leads the singing from a microphone in the front of the church (that Gigantic Voice again), and to indicate when the assembly must chime in with the antiphon, raises both arms ("Touchdown!"). Despite this, one has the impression that most communicants don't bother to sing.

**3. Posture for Communion.** In the old rite, the communicant kneels, usually at a communion rail, to receive Holy Communion. Obviously, the act expresses humility, profound reverence and faith in the Real Presence. Ideally, the rail should be covered with a linen communion cloth; this protects the Blessed Sacrament should it fall, and serves as a powerful symbolic reminder that this part of the Mass is truly the *sacrum convivium* — the sacred banquet.

The post-Vatican II legislation gave national bishops' conferences the power to determine the posture for the reception of communion, and most promptly established standing as the norm.

The change was presented as the restoration of a joy-filled ancient custom — the chest-high wall at which one received communion and which surrounded the altar in those days was, mysteriously, never mentioned[34] — while the pre-Vatican II practice of kneeling was portrayed as medieval, peni-

32. GI 69 §56, DOL 1446.

33. If there is no singing, the antiphon is recited either by the people, by some of them, or by a reader. Otherwise the priest himself reads it before he gives communion to the people.

34. See MRR 2:375.

tential, etc. To be sure, this was all camouflage for the real motive: to diminish faith in the Real Presence — the liturgical expression of which we saw Louis Bouyer dismiss as "disintegration" and "a retrogression from true religion to magic."

This shift from kneeling for communion to standing personally affected every Catholic. Hitherto, the principal external sign by which he expressed his faith in the Blessed Sacrament was bending his knees when he saw the Sacred Host and when he received it at communion time — because it was God Himself he adored and received.

Abolishing this powerful symbolic gesture undermined belief in the reality behind it. The message this change sent to every Catholic was that your faith in the Eucharist must no longer be as before.

Though some post-Vatican II legislation mentioned the need for an "appropriate gesture of reverence" before receiving communion,[35] even the pathetically minimal form this usually takes (a quick dip of the head while the person in front of you is receiving) is far from universally observed.

Finally, it is interesting to note how long a correct understanding of the old symbolism has endured. After more than forty years, conservatives who otherwise accepted the Mass of Paul VI still lament the abolition of kneeling for communion. They perceive, dimly but rightly, that the change is inextricably linked to loss of faith in the Real Presence.

**4. Communion under Both Kinds.** Communion was normally given under two species until the eleventh or twelfth century. In certain cases (infants, the sick, and prisoners during persecutions) it was permitted to administer communion under one kind.

In the West, the development of Eucharistic devotion in the early Middle Ages produced a more careful observance of outward expressions of reverence towards the Blessed Sacrament. Eventually, the practice of giving the chalice to the laity came to be seen as posing a real danger for profanation, so in the twelfth century a movement began to change the discipline.

The Council of Constance (1415) declared communion under one kind obligatory, and the Council of Trent confirmed this prescription in 1562.[36] Some exceptions were allowed. The Cistercians continued to receive the Precious Blood with a fistula (a golden tube or straw),[37] but the practice died out when they abandoned their rite in favor of the Roman Rite.

35. GI 2000 §160.

36. LRC, 369ff.

37. This was also the manner in which the pope received the Precious Blood at Papal Mass. See LRC, 400. The chalice was brought to the pope at the throne. The fistula was probably used to minimize the danger that the Precious Blood would be spilled as he consumed It.

Vatican II's Constitution on the Liturgy (SC §55) permitted communion under both kinds in a limited number of cases, which general legislation subsequently increased. Bishops' conferences and Ordinaries were then allowed the latitude to determine when the practice would be permitted.

As regards the rubrics, the deacon, acolyte or extraordinary minister holds the chalice and says *Blood of Christ*, to which the communicant responds: *Amen*. There are two modes of reception: drinking from the chalice, or the less commonly used intinction, in which the priest dips the host into the chalice and puts it into communicant's mouth.

Historically, of course, the Protestants (and their precursors, the Hussites) insisted that *both* species were obligatory, and that the reception of just one species was an unscriptural Roman abuse. Allowing it again in the Roman Rite sounded another positive ecumenical note.

As regards those after Vatican II who promoted communion under both species, one can be reasonably sure that their primary motive was not devotion to the Most Precious Blood — it's a bit hard to imagine Bugnini and his fellow modernists in Study Group 10 flooding out into the streets of Rome for torchlight parades in Its honor.[38] In fact, the calendar for the new Missal *abolished* the Feast of the Precious Blood.

The real reason is, again, the assembly-supper theology behind the New Mass. If the rite is little more that a meal, you eat *and* drink.

**5. Lay Ministers.** The ordinary minister of communion in the ancient Church was the priest, assisted by the deacon, who ministered the chalice. Apart from this, there are some accounts of acolytes bringing communion to the sick, and of laymen bringing communion to those imprisoned for the faith. Eventually church law designated the priest as the ordinary minister of communion and the deacon as extraordinary minister.

One of the many shifts in Catholic practice after Vatican II was the general abandonment of confession. Simultaneously, the new theology promoted the idea that since the Mass was first and foremost a common meal, the high point of the rite must necessarily consist in the reception of communion by all present. Everyone, it seemed, then started receiving communion. Since most countries soon experienced a dearth of vocations, there were not enough priests to assist at communion time in large parishes.

Moreover, devotees of more advanced versions of modernist sacramental theology declared that, since baptism made every Christian a priest — Lucien Deiss's catchy responsorial song "Priestly People" was a popular communion song in those days, becoming the modernist replacement for "Oh Lord, I

38. "Taedis flammiferis ordine prodeant." Vesper Hymn for the Feast of the Precious Blood.

am Not Worthy" — any lay man or woman could therefore distribute the Eucharist. Indeed in some quarters, distribution of the Eucharist by a layman was seen as the *ideal*, because it dramatically illustrated that the old teaching on the priesthood and Holy Orders had been quite definitively surpassed. At communion time, the priest scuttled off to the president's chair for a little break, and left the work to lay distributors.

So for both practical and theological motives, a campaign to allow laymen to distribute communion followed soon after Vatican II.

The resulting legislation in 1973 provided that (1) the priest and the deacon were the ordinary ministers of communion, (2) acolytes "properly instituted" are special ministers when priests and deacons are absent or impeded, or when the number of communicants is so great that the Mass would be unduly prolonged, and (3) the Ordinary may give other special ministers the faculty to distribute communion "whenever it seems necessary for the pastoral benefit of the faithful and no priest, deacon, or acolyte is available."[39] A person may function in the latter capacity even on a one-time basis, and the faculty to distribute communion may be given to both men and women.

The latter practice — authorizing a woman to distribute the Eucharist publicly at Mass, and in front of a mixed congregation, no less — would have been utterly inconceivable in the early Church.

According to the present general legislation, only men may be formally instituted as acolytes, that is, have the office conferred upon them with the rites in the new Roman Pontifical.[40] Fearing the wrath of those thoroughly modern post-Vatican II Catholics who consider this rule "sexist," however, most dioceses in the U.S. will not formally institute any acolytes, except seminarians destined for the priesthood. Instead, they employ only the special "Extraordinary Ministers" described above in number (3).

Again, it is interesting to note that even after all these years, some Catholics of a conservative bent will switch lines to avoid receiving communion from an extraordinary minister, either out of residual respect for the Eucharist, or to avoid a female distributor who is dressed immodestly (bare shoulders, short skirt, décolletage, etc.) or incongruously (Ms. Gauleiter in bib overalls).

Needless to say, the practical effect of allowing virtually anyone to distribute communion not only undermines belief in the Real Presence, but also devalues the unique role of the priest.

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39. SC Divine Worship, *Holy Communion and Worship of the Eucharist outside of Mass*, 21 June 1973, §17, DOL 2095.

40. After Vatican II Paul VI abolished the minor orders, and replaced them with the two "ministries" of Lector and Acolyte, which were conferred according to the revised Pontifical. See his Motu Proprio *Ministeria Quaedam*, 15 August 1972, DOL 2922–38.

## COMMUNION IN THE HAND

Communion in the hand was not one of the reforms proposed in Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy; like altering the Canon, it would have been inconceivable. Nevertheless, once the practice was introduced, it spread rapidly, and is now found just about everywhere.

There are two separate questions to discuss: the historical antecedents for the practice, and the doctrinal consequences.

**1. History.** When communion in the hand was introduced after Vatican II, those who promoted it tried to convey the general impression that it represented the restoration of a practice once universally followed by the ancient Church. The argument, often left unstated, was, how could one possibly object to an early Christian practice as disrespectful or somehow unorthodox?

The key text employed to this end was a passage from the fourth-century *Mystagogic Catecheses* (instructions in the faith for new converts) attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, but in fact probably not written by him:

> When you approach, do not go stretching out your open hands or having your fingers spread out, but make the left hand into a throne for the right hand which shall receive the King, and then cup your open hand and take the Body of Christ, reciting the Amen...[41]

Jungmann cites other texts from this period and somewhat later (mainly Eastern) that seem to corroborate the practice as described,[42] and Archdale King cites texts from Tertullian, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine.[43]

Father P.M. Gy, however, observes that communion was always given in the mouth to the sick, and up until the twelfth century, also to babies. Moreover, in antiquity elements of imperial court ceremonial also influenced the liturgy, which then incorporated different practices for receiving communion in a hand covered with a veil.[44] As regards the latter practice in the West, Jungmann records that Caesarius of Arles (+543) and the Synod of Auxerre (578 or 585) both mention the requirement that women receive communion

41. *Catechesis Mystagogica,* 5.21, PG 33:1123–6. The note in Migne indicates that the authenticity of the text is disputed. Jungmann (*Early Liturgy*, 5) says: "Although the *Mystagogic Catecheses* are generally cited as written by Cyril, they are probably not his, but of a somewhat later date, about 400."

42. MRR 2:379.

43. LRC, 368.

44. Pierre-Marie Gy OP, "Quand et pourquoi la Communion dans la bouche a-t-elle remplacé la communion dans la main dans l'Église Latine?" in A.M. Triacca, ed., *Gestes et Paroles dans les Diverses Familles Liturgiques* (Rome: CLV 1978), 117.

only with a hand covered with a veil.[45]

So, despite the endlessly recycled text attributed to Cyril, it is by no means certain that the *exact* method it seems to describe — a host placed into the communicant's bare palm — was the same for *all* communicants or obtained *everywhere*.

Growing devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, as well as a deepening respect for the priesthood, eventually led to the practice of the priest placing the host directly into communicant's mouth. The host seems to have been received at Rome this way about the time of St. Gregory the Great (+604),[46] and according to Archdale King, communion in the hand was condemned by a synod held at Rouen under Clovis II in about 650.[47]

Liturgical scholars have been unable to fix an exact date for when communion on the tongue became the universal practice. Gy maintains that it was hastened in part by the universal adoption in Carolingian times (eighth century) of the ceremony for the consecration of a priest's hands at ordination.[48]

This would be consistent with the explanation that St. Thomas gives for communion in the mouth. Out of reverence for this sacrament, nothing touches it but what is consecrated, hence the corporal and the chalice are consecrated, and likewise the priest's hand for touching this sacrament.[49]

**2. Handmaid to Heresy.** Thus the mysteries encountered in trying to discover precise details about the history of the rite for the distribution of communion to the laity.

But there is *no* mystery whatsoever about why communion in the hand was introduced in more recent times. Heretics used it as a symbolic gesture to attack the Catholic dogmas on the Real Presence and the priesthood that communion on the tongue came to symbolize.

Here is the sixteenth-century Protestant Martin Bucer on the practice of communion on the tongue:

> Something introduced out of a double superstition: first, the false honor they wish to show to this sacrament, and secondly, the wicked arrogance of priests claiming greater holiness than that of the people of Christ, by virtue of the oil of consecration... For, although for a time concession can be made

45. MRR 2:380.

46. *Dialogorum Lib.* 4.3, PL 77:224. "Cumque ei Dominicum corpus in os mitteret..." John the Deacon, *S. Gregorii Magni Vita*, 2.41, PL 75:103. "Ille continuo dexteram ab ejus ore covertens, partem illam dominci corporis super altare deposuit."

47. LRC, 368.

48. Gy, 120.

49. *Summa Theologica*, 3:82.13.

> to those whose faith is weak by giving them the Sacraments in the mouth when they so desire, if they are carefully taught they will soon conform themselves to the rest of the Church and take the Sacraments in the hand.[50]

Thus, the rites Protestants developed for their communion services since the sixteenth century prescribe (or at least permit) the reception of communion in the hand. This method of reception is simply a natural consequence of their heresy.

So too, for those who sought to introduce the practice after Vatican II. Even before the Council came to an end, modernist theologians began attacking the dogma of transubstantiation and proposing various heresies about the Real Presence, the two most popular being transignification (the "meaning" of the bread changes) and transfinalization (the "purpose" of the bread changes).

In his September 1965 Encyclical *Mysterium Fidei*, Paul VI warned against these errors.[51] But as we have already pointed out in Chapter 5, in the best tradition of Vatican II double-talk, he simultaneously opened the door to the other "presences" of Christ at Mass (in the assembly, in Scripture, etc.) that were the cornerstone of modernist assembly theology,[52] and invented by Bouyer to devalue *the* Real Presence through transubstantiation.

Communion in the hand was the perfect tool to spread all these vile teachings. Thus by mid-1965, only a few months after the first liturgical changes were implemented, the more avant-garde European modernists began to celebrate Masses that incorporated various unapproved practices, including communion in the hand.

In my own experience, the only people I knew who advocated the practice were *heretics* — the priests or seminarians who promoted transfinalization, transignification, a "transient" presence of Christ in the Eucharist, assembly theology or a "lay" priesthood.

All these errors and more were in the air everywhere after Vatican II, and no one who opened a newspaper could have been unaware of them. Introducing communion in the hand was merely one more weapon that modernist heretics used to attack Catholic doctrine. An ancient liturgical practice was of interest only if it promoted the modernist agenda.

The bishops in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and France — leaders of the "progressive" wing at the Council — repeatedly appealed to Rome for approval of communion in the hand for their countries.

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50. *Censura*, Whittaker edition, 34–6, quoted in Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 464.
51. Encyclical *Mysterium Fidei*, 3 September 1965, DOL 1145ff.
52. See §35ff, DOL 1178–83.

In 1968 Consilium polled the bishops of the world on whether communion in the hand should be permitted; the result was that an overwhelming majority *opposed* permission. Consilium then issued a document summarizing the statistics and urging bishops to retain the traditional practice. But at the same time — again, in the best tradition of Vatican II double-talk — the document allowed each national bishops' conference to apply for an Indult to institute communion in the hand in its country.[53]

Accompanying this document was a letter explaining how communion in the hand was to be distributed and specifying that those who wished to receive communion on the tongue must always be allowed to do so.[54]

All this was done with the approval of Paul VI. None of it would have been possible without his say-so, and Bugnini makes it clear in his memoirs that Paul VI was involved at every step in the process.

It was inevitable that, as the effects of Vatican II's "new springtime" spread throughout the world, communion in the hand would spread along with it. One by one, each national bishops' conference applied for the Indult, and in each case, the Vatican granted it. It was introduced in the United States in 1977.

All sorts of horror stories circulate about the practice: hosts are put into pockets or left in pews (even sold on eBay), particles of hosts are left scattered on the church floor, kids or non-Catholics take hosts home as souvenirs, etc. A conservative like Father Retreaux may have a server hold a gold-plated communion paten out as he presents the host to the communicant, but the exercise is the height of absurdity if the good Father has to pop the host, particles and all, into the communicant's hand.

From time to time over the years, Vatican officials have issued statements alluding to the problems posed by communion in the hand, or hinting that communion on the tongue might somehow be preferable.

The most well known example of this is found in John Paul II's 1981 letter *Dominicae Cenae* in which he lamented that a "deplorable lack of respect towards the Eucharistic species" was reported in countries where communion in the hand had been introduced, adding that "to touch the sacred species and to distribute them with their own hands is a privilege of the ordained."[55] When he was the Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith,

53. See SC Divine Worship Instruction *Memoriale Domini*, 29 May 1969, DOL 2057ff.

54. See SC Divine Worship, Letter *En réponse a la demande*, 29 May 1969, DOL 2062ff.

55. John Paul II, Letter *Dominicae Cenae* on the Mystery and the Worship of the Eucharist, 24 February 1980, §11, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_let_24021980_dominicae-cenae_en.html. Tough talk, but at communion time during a "youth Mass" in Denver that John Paul II presided over, they were throwing the communicants plastic bags filled with hosts. Before Vatican II, a priest who did something like this would have incurred the gravest form of excommunication — one whose absolution was reserved to the pope alone.

Cardinal Ratzinger issued similarly critical statements, as did various officials of the Congregation for Divine Worship. These pronouncements inevitably cause great excitement in conservative circles, but nothing has come of them so far.

As part of these discussions, one also inevitably hears that communion on the tongue is "the law," while communion in the hand is only tolerated by indult — a special exception to the law. As a defense, this is pathetic. Paul VI himself allowed communion in the hand, and after forty years, it has universally become an "ordinary custom" which, as such, obtains the force of law.

Introducing communion in the hand in the 1960s had nothing to do with restoring primitive Christian practices — why not restore veils for women, separate the sexes in church, and impose public penance for adultery, then? — the real point was to attack Catholic dogma.

Communion in the hand is a built-in sacrilege that destroys the faith — and it has worked its evil everywhere.

**3. Corruption, Improvement and Context.** A discussion of communion in the hand raises two broader points:

(1) Despite the corruption theories of modernist liturgical scholars like Jungmann and Bouyer, the Church has in fact constantly *improved* her rites over time, rather than *corrupted* them. This is so because the Church contemplates the great truths of the faith, and adjusts her sacred rites accordingly in order to manifest those truths more perfectly.

Such a perfecting process operates very slowly, with an extreme conservatism and a profound veneration for what already exists, and it was at work here in the development of the rites for the reception of Holy Communion.

Modernists in the liturgical sphere, on the other hand, strip away the improvements, thus stifling true progress. At the same time (as we have amply demonstrated) they substantially alter what always remains the same in any true development of the liturgy — its *doctrinal* content.

In other words, liturgical modernists stifle the development that *should take place*, and then change what *should remain the same*. Their procedure is akin to stripping a car down to only those parts that a car had in 1900 — and then equipping what is left with square wheels.

(2) Another consideration to bear in mind when discussing communion in the hand is the historical context.

Communion in the hand (like communion under both species) conveyed no heretical message in the Church's earlier days. But the advent of Protestant and modernist heresies on the nature of the Eucharist and the adoption of communion in the hand by heretics in order to spread those errors has changed the context forever.

Like it or not, therefore, the gesture of communion in the hand now conveys just one idea: I repudiate the dogma of transubstantiation.

## RITES AFTER COMMUNION

One characteristic of the traditional Latin Mass is that it ends rather abruptly after the distribution of Holy Communion. Naturally, this was shortened even more in the Mass of Paul VI.

**1. Purifications.** After the distribution of communion in both rites, the priest purifies the vessels, an action that is accompanied by private prayers. In the New Mass, the first text below (from the Leonine Sacramentary) was retained, while the second (non-Roman in origin) was suppressed. In 1570, St. Pius V prescribed both prayers for the Roman Rite.

> May we receive into a pure heart, O Lord,
> the heavenly food that has passed our lips;
> bestowed upon us in time,
> may it be the healing of our souls for eternity.

> May your Body, O Lord, which I have received,
> and the Blood which I have drunk
> cleave to my inmost parts;
> and grant that no stain of sin remain in me,
> whom pure and holy mysteries have refreshed.
> Who live...

The second text was probably suppressed because of the negative phrase "stain of sin."

As regards the ritual actions, in the traditional rite there are *two* purifications of the chalice, during the second of which, both water and wine are also poured over the priest's forefingers and thumbs (held together until this point) to remove any particles which may have adhered to them. If the priest purifies a ciborium, the wine and water are also poured into it.

In the New Mass there is one purification of the paten and chalice, and none for the priest's fingers. The priest, deacon or instituted acolyte may perform it, and it may be done at a side table.

**2. Common Thanksgiving.** The *Novus Ordo* introduced the option for a common thanksgiving after communion, made either in silence or through the singing of a "hymn, psalm or song of praise."

For this, the priest may return to the presidential chair to sit, and the whole congregation sits. Afterwards, he may remain at the presidential chair,

or return to the altar.

The rationale for the silent thanksgiving was to provide at least *one* potential period of silence during the Mass, since otherwise the congregation is either listening to a text or being goaded by the Gigantic Voice to "participate."

However, I know of no precedent in the Roman liturgy for the practice in the Mass of Paul VI whereby the clergy and congregation sit in silence and (theoretically) meditate together. It seems like something invented by members of a religious group that had no liturgical sensibilities at all — Quakers, or even Jesuits. Moreover, having participated in this practice on a daily basis at a monastery, I found it not very conducive to private prayer; you have only a minute or two, and this is hardly enough time for even recollection, still less a proper thanksgiving.

But in any case, the proper posture for a thanksgiving after the reception of communion is not *sitting* but *kneeling*.

As for singing a "song of praise," I could find no precedent for this either, except for an Anglican one; in some of their churches, the congregation or choir sings the Gloria or a Psalm after communion.[56]

**3. Prayers after Communion.** These prayers are a sub-category of the orations, and in the traditional rite they are called Post-Communions. In the Missal of Paul VI, the old texts were redistributed to follow the new liturgical calendar, and in many cases, they were edited, changed or abolished altogether. New texts were also added, some taken from old sacramentaries, and others, entirely new compositions.

Since we have already examined in some detail the "new values and new perspectives" that Consilium applied to all the orations incorporated into Missal of Paul VI, we need not discuss additional particulars for the prayers after Communion,[57] except to note that the usual culprits, ecumenism and modernism, were still at work.

## THE CONCLUDING RITE

If another liturgical action follows, the Concluding Rite of the New Mass is entirely omitted — the final result of the precedent set in the 1955

56. See the 1662 Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, from the era of Bouyer's beloved "Caroline Divines."

57. For a discussion of the specific issue of the Prayers after Communion, see: Walter Ferretti, "Le Orazioni Post-Communionem de Tempore," EL 84 (1970), 321–41; Thomas A. Krosnicki, *Ancient Patterns in Modern Prayer* (Washington: CUA Press 1973). Ferretti was the member of Consilium responsible for editing and collating the Prayers after Communion for the temporal cycle in the new Missal. Krosnicki's study is a systematic overview of all the prayers.

Holy Week services, which lopped off parts of the *Ordo Missae* whenever the Mass was preceded or followed by another liturgical rite.

After the Prayer after Communion, the new rite may be interrupted again for more talk — this time, for announcements. So, Ms. Gauleiter can step up to the mike, and with her Gigantic Voice urge the congregation to participate in the blood drive, sign up for the theology of the body seminar, send greeting cards to Father Chuck's jailed predecessor, and buy tickets to hear the Women's Ordination Conference singing group (the Cheirotonics).

**1. The Blessing.** In the new rite, the *Dominus vobiscum* and the Blessing follows. The latter may be preceded by one of two formulas:

(1) A *Solemn Blessing,* consisting of a three-fold petition in the hortatory subjunctive, with a people's Amen for each. The source for this concept seems to be the Gallican liturgy.[58]

(2) A *Prayer over the People*, comprising an oration sometimes based on one of the Lenten weekday *Orationes super Populum*, with a people's Amen at the end. Ancient sacramentaries prescribed *super populum* prayers like this for various days of the year. St. Gregory the Great restricted their use to Lent, possibly because it was considered that prayers should be longer during this season.[59]

The Blessing itself is the same as the one in the traditional rite:

**Priest:** May Almighty God bless you,
the Father, + the Son, and the Holy Ghost.
**People:** Amen.

In the traditional rite, the Blessing has been preceded by the *Ite Missa est* (or its equivalent), and the quiet recitation by the priest of the following prayer, the *Placeat*:

May the lowly homage of my service be pleasing to you,
O most Holy Trinity,
and grant that the sacrifice which I, though unworthy,
have offered up in the sight of your majesty
may be acceptable to you,
and because of your mercy,
may it atone to you for myself and all those for whom I have offered it.
Through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

58. See TNM, 214.

59. LRC, 384. Comparing the Prayers over the People in the 1970 Missal to their supposed antecedents, I suspect, would reveal the same types of omissions already pointed out in the rest of the new orations.

This prayer is found in the ninth-century Sacramentary of Amiens, where it was recited after the priest kissed the altar before leaving the sanctuary, and was used nearly everywhere in the West.[60]

Why was it excised? Probably because it offended against ecumenism (sacrifice, atonement, offering for others), modernism (lowly, plea for acceptance, unworthy), and assembly theology (*my* homage).

Naturally, the revisers tinkered with the rubrics for the Blessing. The priest no longer makes the expressive gesture of lifting his eyes to the crucifix and raising his hands simultaneously to make a "gathering" gesture, bowing to the cross, and then turning towards the people to make the sign of the cross over them.

And the congregation no longer kneels — too medieval, patriarchal, and undemocratic for a priestly people that has gathered to celebrate the memorial of the Lord.

**2. The Dismissal.** Last in the new rite comes the dismissal, with the old formula *Ite missa est* rendered in various ways into modern languages. The basic meaning is: *Go, this is the dismissal*, to which the response is *Thanks be to God.*

*Ite missa est* is found in *Ordo Romanus I.* The traditional Missal, however, prescribes two additional formulas. The *Benedicamus Domino* (Let us bless the Lord) has been substituted on penitential days ever since the eleventh century, when the *Ite* came to be regarded as a joyful formula connected with the Gloria. At the same time, the formula *Requiescant in pace* (May they rest in peace. Amen) was substituted for Requiem Masses.[61]

In the traditional Mass, these dismissal formulas are *followed* by the *Placeat* and Blessing, because the Blessing was originally given as the celebrant left the church.

The final element in the traditional Order of Mass is the Last Gospel. This is usually the beginning of the Gospel of St. John (*In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God...*), though on some days, the rubrics prescribe that a Gospel from a lower-ranking liturgical day that occurs simultaneously be read in its place.

The Last Gospel was the latest and last addition to the Ordinary of the Mass itself. The remote origins of its liturgical use at Mass lie with the medieval custom of reading the beginning of St. John's Gospel for certain ritual blessings, a practice still found in the traditional *Roman Ritual.* The text is also particularly powerful when invoked against the devil, and is therefore part of the solemn rite of exorcism.

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60. MRR 2:437–8.
61. LRC, 385ff.

In the thirteenth century the Last Gospel was used as a thanksgiving after Mass (the priest recited it as he left the altar), and then finally became part of the Mass itself. For a long time, the rubrics did not specify where the priest was to stand when he recited it. By the fifteenth century, reciting the Last Gospel became a custom that had obtained the force of law. Pope St. Pius V included it as part of the Ordinary in 1570[62] and prescribed that the priest say it at the Gospel corner of the altar. (He added it, he said, in order to combat assaults upon the divinity of Christ.) When the priest completes the text, the servers respond *Deo gratias.*

If the beginning of St. John's Gospel is read (as it is on most days), the priest genuflects at the words: *et verbum caro factum est* — and the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us. In places where the Albigensian heresy was rife, people regarded the genuflection as a proof of Catholic orthodoxy.

The Last Gospel did not fit into the modernist theories for the "correct" development of the Mass, and was an act of devotion by the priest (therefore, anti-assembly). Moreover, the Gospel of St. John in general is particularly detested by the Jews as "anti-Semitic" (*He came unto His own, and His own received Him not,* etc.), so its removal from the Ordinary of the Mass could be construed as an ecumenical gesture at a time when the Vatican II decree absolving the Jews for the death of Our Lord was under discussion.[63]

In 1964, even before Vatican II ended, the Last Gospel and Prayers after Low Mass met their fate in the memorably brutal phrase: "The Last Gospel is omitted; the Leonine Prayers are suppressed."[64]

The latter, the so-called Leonine Prayers,[65] were recited after Low Masses, at first for the return of the Papal States, and then for the freedom for Catholics to practice their faith in Russia. The Leonine Prayers were not part of the Mass, properly speaking.[66] Their suppression was prompted no doubt by the usual motives, but it had the added benefit of placating Communists, a popular sideline for political leftists in the hierarchy like Paul VI.[67]

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62. LRC, 390.

63. One of the moving forces behind the decree, Jules Isaac, had written a book that singled out the Gospel of St. John as particularly "anti-Semitic." He met with John XXIII in June 1960 in order to propose that the Church change her teaching on the Jews.

64. Instruction *Inter Oecumenici,* §48, DOL 340.

65. So called after Pope Leo XIII who instituted them. They consisted of three Hail Marys, the Salve Regina with Collect, Prayer to St. Michael, and (eventually) a three-fold ejaculation to the Sacred Heart.

66. See Anthony Cekada, "Russia and the Leonine Prayers," *Sacerdotium* 5 (Autumn 1992). This article, to my surprise, caused a controversy, because many traditionalists were under the mistaken impression that the prayers were somehow connected with the Fatima message or had as their object the conversion of Russia to the Catholic faith.

67. E.g., Paul VI's sellout of the heroic Cardinal Mindszenty.

After the Last Gospel at High Mass or the Leonine Prayers at Low Mass, the priest goes to the center of the altar, descends, genuflects, covers his head with the biretta and departs, reciting in thanksgiving the canticle *Benedicite*.

## CUMULATIVE EFFECTS

In his 19 November 1969 address defending the New Mass against the charges made by *The Ottaviani Intervention*, Paul VI argued that the various rubrical changes in the new rite did not imply an "altering or lessening of the truth" guaranteed by the Catholic faith, and that they were "subject to a theological evaluation, differing according to their context in the liturgy."[68]

When you turn to the Communion Rite of the New Mass, however, you discover that Paul VI abolished nearly *all* the former ritual gestures of adoration or reverence towards the Sacrament, and ruthlessly discouraged individual devotion and piety. Here is the list of the changes:

(1) Introducing before communion a congregational Sign of Peace which destroys the private recollection necessary for a more fruitful reception of the sacrament.

(2) Conversion of the reception of communion into a communitarian "procession" in which communicants, rather than making private acts of devotion, are expected to sing.

(3) Replacement of kneeling for the reception of communion, a posture of adoration and humility, with standing.

(4) Distribution of communion by the non-ordained, including women.

(5) Permission for communion in the hand, which is now practiced nearly everywhere, and which is now inseparably connected to Protestant and modernist heresies.

(6) The concomitant lack of concern for particles that fall from hosts.

(7) Purification of sacred vessels by laymen.

(8) *Sitting* as a prescribed posture for making a thanksgiving after communion, rather than kneeling, again, a posture of adoration.

(9) The introduction of yet more distracting noise from announcements now made after communion.

(10) The wholesale abolition of virtually *every* priestly gesture from the old rite that expressed adoration of or profound reverence for the Blessed Sacrament: keeping the hands on the corporal till after the ablutions, gazing on the host, signs of the cross, blessings with the host, blessing with the chalice, genuflections before and after handling the Blessed Sacrament, kisses, covering and uncovering the chalice with the pall, bows of the head, bows of

68. DOL 1759.

the body, striking of the breast, purification of the fingers, and throughout, holding thumbs and forefingers together lest particles be lost. All that is left in the Mass of Paul VI is a single genuflection by the priest before communion.

Every gesture in the liturgy, as Mgr. Antonelli said, conveys a theological idea, and the disappearance of these gestures from the Communion Rite conveys a very clear idea indeed: the theology behind them has disappeared as well. The cumulative effect of these changes is devastating to Catholic belief and piety.

From the dismal litany of what Paul VI suppressed in the Communion Rite, only one theological evaluation is possible: the Mass of Paul VI was designed to destroy the traditional Catholic teaching on the Real Presence — a teaching which, according to the Protestant and modernist theology on which the New Mass is based, has "degraded rather than exalted the Christian apprehension of the Mystery itself."[69]

The irreverence and sacrilege that are integral to the Communion Rite — not to mention the heresy that spawned it — would be sufficient to reject the entire rite as a danger to the faith and an offense to God, even if all that preceded it had remained exactly what it was in the Missal of St. Pius V.

And there is one more sacrilege to add to the list: the unworthy reception of Holy Communion.

Before Vatican II, Catholics were intensely aware of the need to be properly disposed before receiving the sacrament. One would abstain from receiving communion not only if one was conscious of having committed a mortal sin, but also even if one had not been to confession for a long time, was conscious of certain habitual venial sins (e.g., anger, a grudge against someone, etc.), or even was not sufficiently recollected at communion time. So in larger parishes, while confession lines on Saturdays were endless, perhaps only a quarter to a third of those present at Sunday Mass received Holy Communion.

But moral theology underwent its own "new springtime" after Vatican II and (like the liturgical reform) overthrew whatever had existed before. The idea of personal sin disappeared, and so Catholics everywhere stopped going to confession.

Simultaneously, the liturgical reform promoted a "meal theology" of the Eucharist which set aside propitiatory sacrifice and the Real Presence, and which guided revisions in the texts and ceremonial actions of the Mass. If everything about the Mass suddenly said "meal" and if confession is no longer *really* required, shouldn't everyone present at the meal eat and drink, mortal sin or not?

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69. LP, 80.

And the new lectionary, after all, had omitted St. Paul's warning that he who eats and drinks the Eucharist unworthily "eateth and drinketh judgement to himself." So why worry?

Thus the reform of the Mass cleared the way for an unending series of unworthy communions — the worst sacrilege, perhaps, of them all.

## SUMMARY

• In the Roman Rite, a tradition attested to by St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great dictated that the priest alone chant or recite the Our Father. The creators of the New Mass transformed it into a congregational prayer, a practice which they acknowledged was "a striking novelty."

• In the prayer *Libera Nos* that follows, the names of the saints and an expression attributed to St. Jerome were removed in order to, respectively, accommodate assembly theology and eliminate negative language. Two phrases were added, one to increase awareness of "the Lord's presence in the assembly," the other because of "ecumenical importance."

• The Pax prayer, formerly recited silently, is now solemnly recited aloud, because of "the custom to use this prayer in ecumenical gatherings."

• The Sign of Peace itself does not descend hierarchically from Christ, to the priest, to the clergy and to the people, but rather is exchanged among members of the assembly.

• The New Mass combines the communion rite for the priest with the communion rite for the faithful, a logical outgrowth of assembly theology,

• The word *soul* has been excised from the communion formulas because it reflects a tendency "to over-accentuate the spiritual."

• The reception of communion has been transformed from an individual act of devotion into a corporate "procession" in which participants must now sing in order to make it "more fully an act of the community."

• Kneeling for the reception of communion, an act of humility and adoration, was replaced with standing.

• The practice of employing lay men and women to distribute communion devalues the priesthood and belief in the Real Presence; the authorization of women to perform this function, moreover, contradicts apostolic tradition.

• Whatever one may conclude about its historical antecedents in the early Church, communion in the hand in modern times was introduced by heretics in order to repudiate Catholic dogmas on the Real Presence and the priesthood.

• The cumulative effect of these changes, together with the suppression of the many priestly ritual gestures that externally manifested adoration and

reverence for the Blessed Sacrament (gazing at the host, signs of the cross, bows, genuflections, striking the breast, blessings with the host, holding thumbs and forefinger joined, etc.) attacks Catholic faith in the Real Presence, and promotes grave irreverence towards the Blessed Sacrament.

Chapter 14

# Conclusions: "The Mass is Ended..."

We began this study by observing that the reverence, the dignity, the beauty and the continuity with tradition which a new generation of priests has discovered in the traditional Latin Mass naturally leads to the question of how to explain the striking and fundamental differences between the old Mass and the Mass of Paul VI.

The answer, we suggested, was to be found in the different sets of *doctrinal* propositions behind each rite. Since every word and every gesture in the liturgy conveys a theological idea, these doctrinal propositions emerge in countless ways as the respective rites unfold. It has been our task here to uncover them.

In this chapter, we will present our conclusions, beginning with our two corollaries (the New Mass as a rupture with tradition and as a spurious restoration of the liturgy of the early Church). We will then pass on to our principal thesis (the Mass of Paul VI is gravely irreverent and destroys Catholic doctrine in the minds of the faithful).

For evidence to support each of these conclusions, we refer the reader to the pertinent sections of the foregoing chapters.

Finally, we will look briefly at three solutions proposed for the problems we have outlined, and then conclude with a recommendation of our own.

## 1. A RUPTURE WITH LIVING TRADITION

Whether the Mass of Paul VI represented a break or a rupture with existing liturgical tradition was not the main question that this study set out to resolve.

But by now it should be abundantly clear that the answer is yes. Virtually *everything* about the Mass of Paul VI was new, from beginning to end.

**(a) Beginning of the Mass.** The Introits were rearranged according to the new and radically altered liturgical calendar, but in practice were abolished. A congregational penitential rite replaced the existing priestly penitential rite. Only 36% of the orations from the old Missal were incorporated into the Missal of Paul VI, and the revisers altered more than *half* of these; thus only 17% of the orations from the old Missal exist unchanged in the new Missal.

**(b) Scripture Readings.** Paul VI abolished the traditional cycle of

Scripture readings, whose core at the time of Vatican II stretched back 1100 years; it was replaced with a new, multi-year cycle of Scripture readings that had no known precedents anywhere, and that was the pure invention of modern scholars. The cycle of intervenient chants between the readings (Graduals, Tracts, Alleluias) was scrapped, and replaced with responsorial jingles sung by the Gigantic Voice.

**(c) Offertory.** The Offertory chants were completely removed from the Missal. The revisers introduced a phony Offertory Procession in which laymen present to the priest bread and wine that just came from the sacristy, instead of true gifts of their own. The revisers were forced to invent new Offertory prayers — Jewish Seder blessings, leavened with Teilhardian mumbo-jumbo — because by their own admission, all the ancient sources that they consulted for alternatives to the old prayers employed the same hated sacrificial language found in the traditional Offertory rite.

**(d) The Canon.** Where in the Roman Rite there was only one Canon, considered untouchable since the sixth century, Paul VI introduced multiple "canons." Twelve alternative texts were eventually provided to replace the Roman Canon, each of which was written in the 1960s or 1970s; some of them are filled with trite horizontal theology, others are written in baby-talk, and all of them were cobbled together according to the textual theories of modern liturgists.

**(e) Communion Rite.** Overthrowing a tradition in the Roman Rite attested to by St. Augustine and St. Gregory, the new rite requires that the *whole congregation* recite the Our Father, rather than just the priest alone. Phrases in the *Libera nos* that originated with St. Jerome and St. Gregory were removed. The cycle of Communion chants and Post-Communion prayers was rearranged.

Even if one leaves aside the question of doctrinal content, one cannot maintain (as the Foreword to the 1970 General Instruction so disingenuously claimed) that the Missal of Paul VI "bears witness to unbroken tradition."[1] Paul VI and Consilium *destroyed* the Mass of the Roman Rite, and erected something new in its place.

With the Mass of Paul VI, no "hermeneutic of continuity" is possible. In light of the continuous liturgical tradition of the Catholic Church, the New Mass is pure discontinuity and total rupture.

## 2. A SPURIOUS "RESTORATION" OF ANTIQUITY

Nor did the "tradition of the Fathers" that the revisers claimed to restore — the liturgical ideals and practices of the early Church — fare any better. In

1. "Traditio non intermissa declaratur."

the New Mass we get "restorations" with a *but*.

**(a) Orations.** Orations from ancient sacramentaries (missals) were restored in the Missal of Paul VI — *but* in versions that were "retouched" to accommodate "new values and new perspectives."[2]

**(b) Lectio Continua.** The ancient practice of the *lectio continua* (reading a book of Scripture continuously on successive days) was restored — *but* "truly difficult texts"[3] were dropped or made optional.

**(c) Prayer of the Faithful.** The Prayer of the Faithful was restored — *but* as a do-it-yourself litany, rather than as the original ancient collects which never varied, and which were loaded with "negative" theology.

**(d) Prefaces.** Ancient texts for Prefaces were restored — *but* only as "mosaics of phrases"[4] rather than as integral texts, because modern man would have found the original texts "unbearable."[5]

**(e) Eucharistic Prayers.** An ancient text attributed to the anti-pope Hippolytus was restored as Eucharistic Prayer 2 — *but* phrases that our "present-day theological outlook would cause us to misinterpret"[6] (hell, the devil, an angel, and damnation for non-believers) were omitted. The ancient ideal for the Eucharistic Prayer was restored — *but* with a "universalist perspective"[7] towards heretics (whom ancient Christians considered to be the offspring of the devil).

**(f) Sign of Peace.** The Pax (sign of peace) was restored — *but* contrary to ancient practice, it was exchanged among men and women in a mixed congregation.

**(g) Liturgical Ministers.** The ancient practice of parceling out liturgical roles among various ministers was restored — *but* against all apostolic tradition, women were permitted to function in the sanctuary.

Throughout this grand process of restoring the Mass to Jungmann's uncorrupted pre-Constantinian ideal, the same fraudulent procedure was relentlessly followed: no ancient practice or prayer was restored unless it could first be conformed to the tenets of ecumenism and modernism.

Thus in the creators of the New Mass, like the adepts of the anti-liturgical heresy whom Dom Guéranger described, we see the habitual contradiction of their own principles. Having begun by claiming to restore the spirit of early Christian worship — that "pastoral liturgy" which supposedly existed before the Fog Curtain descended — "their sham of preaching

2. Braga, "Il 'Proprium,'" 419.
3. LI §7.c, DOL 1849.
4. Ward & Johnson, "Sources ... II: Prefaces," 423.
5. Dumas, "Les Préfaces," 19. Similarly, Braga, "Il Nuovo Messale Romano," 271.
6. Mazza, 93.
7. Mazza, 148. See also: Consilium, Guidelines *Au Cours*, DOL 1957; Cabié, 211–2.

'antiquity' only ended with their smashing everything from the past."[8]

### 3. GRAVE IRREVERENCE

The second part of our principal thesis maintains that the Mass of Paul VI permits or prescribes grave irreverence. The basis for this claim was the alteration or elimination of prayers, ceremonial actions or liturgical laws that manifested the reverence due to, or the sacred quality inherent in, a person, place or thing connected with the celebration of Mass, and in particular, the Blessed Sacrament.

**1. Material Prerequisites.** The liturgical legislation for the old rite contained a vast body of provisions that regulated in minute detail the various material requisites for Mass (altar furnishings, vestments, sacred vessels, etc.). These laws were promulgated in order to ensure that the Blessed Sacrament was treated with the greatest possible care and reverence, as well as to maintain the sacred dignity of the celebration of Mass.

In the Mass of Paul VI, the majority of these requirements were either abolished or curtailed. The externals which remain now have only a practical and psychological end: "the structure and environment [for the New Mass] must begin once again to 'speak' to the faith of the people of God."[9]

**2. Ritual Gestures.** The Mass of Paul VI abolished nearly all the former ritual gestures expressing adoration or reverence towards the Blessed Sacrament, and ruthlessly discouraged individual devotion and piety. Thus:

- The priest no longer holds his thumbs and forefingers together out of reverence for any consecrated particles that may adhere to them.
- A congregational Sign of Peace disrupts private recollection before communion.
- The reception of communion is a communitarian "procession" during which the communicants are required to sing.
- Communicants stand, rather than kneel, to receive communion.
- The non-ordained, including women, distribute communion.
- Laymen purify sacred vessels.
- Sitting, rather than kneeling, is the prescribed posture for making a thanksgiving after communion.
- Announcements may be made after communion, a practice which destroys due recollection.

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8. IL 1:399–400. "une habituelle contradiction avec leurs propres principes... Leur affectation à prêcher l'antiquité n'a abouti qu'à les mettre en mesure de battre en brèche tout le passé.
9. Pistoia, "l'Ambiente," 421.

• Nearly every priestly gesture from the old rite that expressed adoration of or profound reverence for the Blessed Sacrament has been eliminated.

• Communion in the hand, a practice introduced by heretics to repudiate belief in the Real Presence and the sacerdotal character, is permitted virtually everywhere.

**3. Irreverent Atmosphere.** The general atmosphere which pervades the celebration of the Mass of Paul VI often detracts from the character of the Mass as a sacred act. While this can result from a number of factors in the rite too great to enumerate here, at least three in particular stand out:

**(a) Chatter.** A typical Sunday celebration of the New Mass is often filled with unregulated commentary from the priest, deacon, lector, cantor, or other liturgical functionary, delivered at various points throughout the rite. The legislation governing the Mass of Paul VI explicitly allows such commentary.

This didactic chatter necessarily interjects the personality of the chatterer into the rite, particularly when the commentary is improvised, as it often is. (Think Father Chuck.) The proceedings thus take on an informal and casual tone that trivializes what is in theory a sacred action.

**(b) Degenerate Music.** Vatican II's liturgical reform destroyed the notion of sacred music.[10] Anything goes.

In practice, the question of whether a musical style (Gregorian chant, responsorial ditties, Protestant "praise and worship" music, etc.) or a musical instrument (organ, acoustic guitar, piano, etc.) is considered appropriate for worship is now determined solely by personal taste (whether the pastor, musician, or youth group, etc., likes it) or by utility (whether, in the case of music, a particular assembly will sing it).

Music written in an essentially secular style (pop, folk, polka, mariachi), or played on instruments exclusively associated with secular music (piano, guitar, percussion, accordion) drags the world and its spirit into what is supposed to be sacred, and in so doing, cheapens and degrades it.

**(c) So-Called Abuses.** "Abuses" — departures from the norms that supposedly govern how the New Mass is to be celebrated — have always been a *bête noire* for conservatives. Hardly a month goes by without some website indignantly denouncing yet another liturgical outrage.

Thus, merely while I was composing this chapter, I happened upon videos

10. Conservatives claim that Vatican II did no such thing, and cite passages in the Liturgy Constitution that speak of a "leading place" for Gregorian chant (§116) and the "treasure of sacred music" (§114). This language, as usual, is simply more Vatican II yes-but-no double-talk, because it is rendered moot by *other* passages in the Constitution insisting on "active participation" that rightly belongs to the people (§114), the "spirit of the liturgical service" (§116), musical traditions "in certain parts of the world" that reflect "native genius" (§118), etc.

of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Vienna celebrating a "youth Mass" complete with rock music and balloons; a Brazilian priest celebrating an "Axé" Mass that included congregational dancing and elements from a pagan African-Brazilian religious sect; and a youth pilgrimage Mass (in Plobsheim, France) featuring vested concelebrants rhythmically waving their arms to a pop religious tune, "Stand Up, Stand Up, People of God!"

But no matter how often conservatives fume and prelates fulminate,[11] such spectacles roll merrily on.

**4. Analysis.** Had the revisers introduced only one or two minor changes into the Communion Rite, reverence for the Real Presence and for the Mass as a sacred action would probably have remained much as it was before.

But in the Mass of Paul VI they altered or eliminated *en masse* a whole edifice of ceremonial actions and liturgical laws that had externally and unequivocally manifested both reverence for the Blessed Sacrament and underscored the sacred character of the Mass. What was once considered irreverent then suddenly became reverent. Or better — since even the very notion of reverence became passé — acts once considered irreverent became rights or duties that belonged to all members of the priestly people.

And as for portraying "abuses" as alien to the Mass of Paul VI, the response is simple: The pre-Conciliar paradigm for liturgical law that Pius XII enunciated in *Mediator Dei* (doctrine-discipline-ceremonies) applies no longer. The laws for the reformed liturgy exhibit a "new style, new spirit" founded upon the *altiora principia* (higher principles) of John XXIII, Vatican II and the *General Instruction.*

In this context, what some would consider shocking abuses or gross violations of the rubrics are merely the logical consequences of a foundational principle for the New Mass: Jungmann's theory of pastoral liturgy. If the purpose of pastoral liturgy is "care of the people" and the people seem to require cardinalatial balloons, dollops of Afro-Brazilian paganism and arm-waving abbés, well, why not? They *are* the sacred assembly, the new Qahal Yahweh, aren't they?

The culprit for all this, once again, is the assembly theology behind the Mass of Paul VI. If emphasis on the Real Presence in the old rite "degraded" the common understanding of the Mass, if other presences (in the assembly and Scripture) are now also "real," and if the thing made holy by the sacrifice is (as Bouyer said) the People of God, the old objects for reverence — the

11. Indeed, the very morning I wrote this paragraph, I later came across an account of how Archbishop Malcolm Ranjith of Columbo, Sri Lanka (formerly the Secretary for the Vatican Congregation for Divine Worship) had denounced the use of Protestant-style "praise and worship music" at Masses in his archdiocese.

Blessed Sacrament and the nature of the Mass as a sacred action — have been surpassed and may now be ritually ignored.

Thus, as a cumulative effect of these changes — downgrading requirements for the material prerequisites, elimination of ritual gestures expressing adoration or reverence, discouragement of individual devotion and piety, officially authorized chatter throughout the rite, the destruction of sacred music, and endless "abuses" — the Mass of Paul VI permits or prescribes grave irreverence towards the Blessed Sacrament and against the sacred character of the Mass itself.

The Mass of Paul VI is, in other words, a sacrilege.

## 4. THE DESTRUCTION OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINE

The first part of the thesis for this book holds that the Mass of Paul VI destroys Catholic doctrine in the minds of the faithful.

This process of destruction, we said, occurs through the *elimination* (whether actual or virtual) of doctrines contrary to ecumenism and modernism, as well as through the *introduction* (through word and gesture) of doctrinal errors that positively corrupt the faith. The *deregulation* of portions of the New Mass, we also noted, advances this process of destruction beyond what actually appears in the official texts and ceremonies.

We can now summarize some of the principal evidence for the first part of the thesis.

**1. The Underlying Error.** The fundamental doctrinal error that permeates the Mass of Paul VI is *assembly theology*, which was formulated to replace or "surpass" the Catholic doctrine that the essence of the Mass consists in the *sacrifice*.

The starting point for this system (if one may call it such) is the definition of the Mass as an *assembly* (the People of God gathered to celebrate the memorial of the Lord). Assembly is "the great sign which defines and qualifies the whole celebration."[12]

An integral element to assembly theology was the invention of at least two other "presences" of Christ at Mass — in the *assembly* and in *Scripture*. The partisans of assembly theology denominated these other presences as "real" in order to undermine and attack *the* Real Presence by instituting a type of terminological inflation.

Assembly theology served the purposes of both ecumenism and modernism because it "surpassed" Catholic doctrines that Protestants and modernists rejected and detested: propitiatory sacrifice, the sacramental character of the

12. Brandolini, "Aspetti Pastorali," 388.

priesthood, and transubstantiation.

The terms which comprised this new definition of the Mass (*Lord's Supper, People of God, memorial*, etc.) were adopted "in an explicitly ecumenical spirit," and were "the fruits of doctrinal convergence."[13] Elsewhere, moreover, the reformers replaced the traditional language of Catholic sacramental theology with new terminology in order to show a clear break with the old teaching. Thus, for *consecration*, the reformers substituted *institution narrative*; for the Mass as re-presenting the *Sacrifice of the Cross*, they substituted the notion that it re-presented the *Last Supper*; and for the notion of the *priest who offers* the Mass, they substituted the *assembly* which offers, and the priest who *presides*.

The manifold errors of assembly theology are the poisoned source for countless particular details in the Mass of Paul VI that, through both word and ritual gesture, positively corrupt the Catholic faith.

And we need to note once again that, though the 1970 edition of the *General Instruction on the Roman Missal* attempted to tone down some of the more outrageous errors of assembly theology that surfaced in the 1969 edition of the *Instruction*, the *rite itself* that was based on these errors remained unchanged.

Though some souls occasionally try to deck out the Mass of Paul VI with the externals of the old religion (Gregorian chant, embroidered vestments, Baroque chalices, and solemn-faced clergy), the *essence* of the new rite, ecumenical and modernist, still remains underneath: an assembly supper, co-celebrated by the congregation and its president, during which Christ is present in the people, the Scripture readings and (somehow, maybe) in the bread and wine.

**2. Ecumenism in the Rite.** On this count, the revisers either downplayed or eliminated certain elements in the Mass that offended non-Catholics, and then consciously adopted other elements that were consonant with non-Catholic beliefs or liturgical practices.

**(a) Initial Rites.** The liturgical antecedents for the new congregational penitential rite were Protestant; the reformation-Protestants introduced such a rite at the beginning of their communion services in order to proclaim "the priesthood of all believers." Veneration of the saints in this part of the new rite was reduced by eliminating (1) names of specific saints, (2) a prayer mentioning the *relics* and the *merits* of the saints, and (3) the Gloria on nearly all saints' feasts where it had previously been prescribed.

**(b) Orations.** The new Missal radically reduced the number of mandatory

13. Tillard, "La Réforme Liturgique," LO, 224.

feasts of the saints, and hence also the accompanying orations. The Missal of Paul VI completely or in large part eliminated from the orations (1) the *merits* of the saints (a concept particularly offensive to Protestant theology); (2) negative language about heretics, schismatics, pagans and Jews; and (3) language alluding to papal supremacy, the *true* faith, repelling error, the Church Militant and subjection to Christ the King.

**(c) Liturgy of the Word.** The New Mass abolished the former distinction between the Mass of the Catechumens and the Mass of the Faithful, substituting "Liturgy of the Word" and "Liturgy of the Eucharist"; this follows the Protestant equation of "word and sacrament." Negative language about heretics, schismatics, Jews and unbelievers was removed from Scripture passages that are supposedly being read continuously. For most of the feasts of the saints on the new calendar, the revisers eliminated Scripture readings and intervenient chants that actually related in some way to the saint whose feast is celebrated.

**(d) Preparation of Gifts.** The revisers changed the label "Offertory," a term offensive to Protestants, to "Preparation of the Gifts." Sacrificial language, likewise offensive to Protestants, was removed from the fixed prayers for the new ceremony of the Preparation of the Gifts. On the other hand, the *Novus Ordo* retained the one prayer from the old Offertory that could be reconciled to the Protestant notion of *spiritual* self-sacrifice, so much so that it actually appears in the Lutheran communion service. For most of the obligatory feasts of the saints, the new Missal provides no Prayer over the Gifts relating to the feast. The sacrificial concept of *immolation* (another term particularly offensive to Protestants) was removed in at least three instances from the Prayers over the Gifts.

**(e) Eucharistic Prayers.** The New Mass rendered optional the text of the hated Roman Canon, which is filled with ideas utterly inimical to ecumenism. In the new Eucharistic Prayers an *epiclesis* was introduced as a concession to the wooly sacramental theology of the Eastern schismatics. Officially approved vernacular translations incorrectly rendered the words *pro multis* (for many) in the consecration formula as a more ecumenically acceptable *for all.* The Consecration was relabeled and transformed into "Words of the Lord" and an "Institution Narrative," terms used by Protestants to reflect their rejection of Catholic doctrine on sacramental forms, the powers of the priesthood and transubstantiation.

**(f) Communion Rite.** The phrase *for the kingdom, the power and the glory are yours, now and forever*, a formula exclusively associated in the West with Protestantism, was introduced into the Communion Rite. The Pax prayer (*Lord Jesus Christ, who said to your Apostles...*) was recited aloud because of its

use in ecumenical gatherings. Communion in the hand was permitted, a practice that Protestants had instituted in order to repudiate Catholic teaching on the priesthood and transubstantiation. The prayer *Placeat* was eliminated before the Blessing; it mentions sacrifice, atonement for sin, and offering the Mass of others, propitiatory sacrifice and good works — concepts which are repugnant to Protestant theology.

**3. Modernism in the Rite.** Though modernists are natural ecumenists because they believe that dogma evolves, many of the foregoing elements in the Mass of Paul VI advanced the modernist agenda as well, but for other reasons. Devotion to the saints, for instance, strikes the modernist as contrary to the mentality of modern man. Sacrificial language is necessarily Tridentine and "negative"; as such, it constitutes a "dead end" that modern theology must surpass.[14] And the notion of a sacramental form reeks of Thomism and the old theology.

Other changes in the rite, however, derive exclusively either from the tenets of modernist theology in general (accommodation to "modern man," universalism, rejection of negative themes, etc.) or from the assembly theology of the Mass in particular. Thus:

**(a) The Church Building.** The "biblical-liturgical theology of assembly," rather than the exaltation of God, is the objective of the new rules for church architecture.[15] A new, man-centered theology served as the basis for introducing Mass facing the people.[16] Private Masses and devotional altars were in effect banned because they compromised assembly theology.

**(b) Introductory Rites.** For the first part of the Mass, the priest faces the assembly, which will collectively celebrate the Mass. Negative theology (Psalm 42, *Take away our iniquities*, etc.) and the profound bow for the *Confiteor* (an expression of humility) were removed. In place of the old rite of priestly preparation, the new introductory rite is based upon a "theology of Greeting" that is derived from the tenets of assembly theology (Christ is present in the assembled People of God, etc.). Allusions to the devil and judgment were eliminated from the new rite for blessing holy water.

**(c) Orations.** From the orations, the revisers removed concepts such as negative theology (the depravity of sin, offenses against the divine majesty, concupiscence, divine wrath, hell, etc.), the conflict between the Christian and the world (despising earthly things, etc.), the *soul* (in prayers for the departed), miracles and, in general, anything that conflicts with the "new values and new

14. Lengeling, "Tradition und Fortschritt," 218–9.
15. Pistoia, "L'Ambiente," 410.
16. OMP, 243.

perspectives" of modernist theology.

**(d) Liturgy of the Word.** The portion of the Mass containing the Scripture readings was transformed into means of direct religious instruction for the congregation (= worship as classroom) and the "action of a deliberative assembly."[17] The priest's role during this part of the rite has been reduced to a minimum. Passages in the Scripture readings that contained certain negative themes were excised, made optional, or consigned to sections of the Lectionary not normally read to the congregation on Sundays.

**(e) Preparation of Gifts.** The Offertory was recast as an action of the assembly. Negative ideas were removed throughout, as was sacrificial terminology, which according to modernist liturgical theory "anticipated the sacrifice." A notion originating with the modernist theologian Teilhard de Chardin (the "work of human hands" as matter for the sacrifice) was introduced into the new texts that replaced the old prayers for offering the host and chalice. The Prayers over the Gifts (formerly the Secrets) underwent modifications "dictated by the new theology,"[18] in order to make them "universalist, [and] thus more in tune with the spirit of our age."[19]

**(f) Eucharistic Prayers.** The revisers introduced alternate Eucharistic Prayers in order to neutralize the Roman Canon which (1) was inextricably linked to the "dead end of the Tridentine theories of sacrifice," (2) did not conform to modernist textual theories, (3) contained negative theology, and (4) included ritual elements (silent recitation, multiple priestly gestures) that contradicted assembly theology. The new texts, created in the 1960s and 1970s, reflected a religious universalism; some were filled with modern bromides. The absolute low point was the new Eucharistic Prayers for children's Masses; these were written in theological baby-talk, and were predicated on the naturalistic assumptions of modern psychology. Demonstrating a contempt for the standard terms and teaching of Catholic sacramental theology, the revisers transformed the sacramental form for the Consecration into a quote in a historical narrative; this introduced a defect of intention into the essential part of the rite which, according to pre-Vatican II sacramental theology, would render the consecration and the Mass invalid (devoid of any sacramental effect).

**(g) Communion Rite.** Rather than receiving the Pax after it descends hierarchically from the priest, members of the assembly exchange the greeting among themselves. The reception of communion was transformed into a corporate "procession." Kneeling for communion (an expression both of

17. Kiefer, *To Hear and Proclaim*, 65.
18. Raffa, "Le Orazioni sulle Offerte," 307.
19. Ibid. 310.

humility and of adoration of the Real Presence) has been, practically speaking, abolished. And of course, communion in the hand was introduced nearly everywhere, a practice that advances the modernist goals of undermining Tridentine teaching on the Eucharist and the priesthood, and propagates theological ideas (read "heresies") consistent with false modern philosophical systems.

**4. Deregulation of Doctrine.** Where pre-Vatican II liturgical legislation tightly regulated liturgical texts and ceremonial rules in order to protect the integrity of the Catholic faith (doctrine-discipline-ceremonies), the 1969 *General Instruction on the Roman Missal* and subsequent Vatican liturgical legislation deregulated large portions of the new rite of Mass. Thus, the norms that govern the Mass of Paul VI allow whoever plans a particular celebration to:

(1) *Select one text or rite for use from a number of fixed texts or rites.* (Penitential Rite, orations, Scripture readings, Responsorial Psalms, Gospel Acclamations, Prefaces, Eucharistic prayers, blessings).

(2) *Omit or adapt certain texts or rites.*

(3) *Introduce or invent texts as one sees fit.* (Entrance Songs, an introduction before the Penitential Act, the texts for the petitions in Penitential Act C, an introduction before the Liturgy of the Word, an introduction to the Prayer of Faithful, the petitions for the Prayer of the Faithful, the concluding prayer for the Prayer of the Faithful, Offertory Songs, an introduction before the *Orate Fratres* [Pray, brethren...], an introduction before the Preface, an introduction before the Our Father, an introduction before the Sign of Peace, Communion Songs, and the songs of thanksgiving after Communion).[20]

Apart from transforming the liturgy into a buffet, this deregulation sets up the pastor, a lay minister, a musician, a writer at a liturgical resource service or whoever plans the liturgy in a parish as the final arbiter of its doctrinal content. Whatever that content may be, all the way from simple maladroit language to outright heresy, then becomes an integral part of the official liturgical prayer of the Church. It is all legal under the norms laid down for the Mass of Paul VI.

Deregulation thus adds another dimension to the problems already inherent in the texts of the Missal of Paul VI — the Bugnini-Montini open ticket to an unending series of doctrinal errors.

**5. Analysis.** The inevitable result of all the foregoing is the ongoing destruction of Catholic doctrine in the minds of the faithful.

20. For (1) see the pertinent sections in the GI and LI. For (2) see the rubrics interspersed within the texts for various rites. For (3) see Chapters 8 and 10–3 above.

We have all read poll results which show that Mass attendance plummeted after Vatican II and has been declining ever since, and that large numbers of Catholics no longer adhere to doctrinal or moral teachings that once were known, understood and held by everyone who called himself a Catholic.

The explanation most commonly offered for this religious revolution is either sociological (the decline in the Church reflected larger trends in society) or that it is somehow linked to the idea that Vatican II has been "misinterpreted."

But the pseudo-science of sociology, based as it is on little more than head-counting and number-crunching, cannot provide a credible explanation as to the actual *cause* for a near-instantaneous collapse in religious faith and practice among Catholics. It can only record what people *say* they think about a specific question on religion that the pollster asks. Such responses can never be anything more than the effects of some other, greater cause. And since sociology is a godless discipline in any case, it can recognize no supernatural principles or causes whatsoever.

As for assigning the precipitous decline in Mass attendance and belief among Catholics to the misinterpretation of Vatican II, this does not fly either. The man in the pew does not get his understanding of Catholic doctrine from theological journals that feature endless hairsplitting over what Vatican II's fuzzy "on one hand/on the other" formulations *really* meant. Instead, he gets it almost exclusively from what he sees and what he hears at Mass every Sunday — assuming, of course, that he still goes to Mass.

And what he got after Vatican II (and still gets) is the Mass of Paul VI, a rite that has been purged of Catholic doctrines denied by heretics, and that is steeped in modernist assembly theology, a set of hazy propositions formulated to obliterate Tridentine teaching on transubstantiation and on the essence of the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice.

We have all heard the so-called watchdogs of orthodoxy in the post-Vatican II hierarchy lament the "silent apostasy" from the faith, the "heremeutic of discontinuity," the "dictatorship of relativism," and the "ecclesial crisis" among the erstwhile Catholic faithful. If they seek causes, let them look first to the missal that is brought to them each day at the presidential chair.

Throughout the Church's history, all proponents of doctrinal revolution have recognized that the liturgy expresses and communicates beliefs. Eliminate the old teachings and substitute the new, and the man in the pew will no longer believe as before.

This was just the effect that the creators of the New Mass had anticipated. The Missal of Paul VI, said Bugnini's assistant Carlo Braga, was altering "doctrinal reality," imparting "new values, new perspectives," introduced

"an entirely new foundation of eucharistic theology,"[21] and would "have a transforming effect on catechesis."[22] The new Missal was destined to become a *locus theologicus* (source for demonstrating theological truths), said Martimort, because its contents "interpret the shared faith of the assembly."[23] The new lectionary, said Adrian Nocent, "is destined in the long run, but inevitably, to change the theological mentality and very spirituality of the Catholic people."[24]

Thus the Mass of Paul VI was *meant* to change what Catholics believed — to spread the theological revolution of Vatican II everywhere — and it succeeded.

To deny that this rite was a principal efficient cause for the abandonment of Catholic beliefs and practice that occurred worldwide after Vatican II is to deny what Pius XI called the power of the liturgy to "affect both mind and heart." For the liturgy is of its nature "an expression of dogma" (Bouix), conveys a theological idea in "every word and every gesture" (Antonelli), is "the most important organ of the ordinary magisterium of the Church" (Pius XI).

Strip the liturgy of certain doctrines (hell, saints, the true Church, the devil, the soul, the dangers of the world) denied by Protestants and modernists, and for the man in the pew, those doctrines melt into oblivion. Implement in word and gesture the principle that the assembly is "the great sign which defines and qualifies the whole celebration," and the Eucharistic faith of the man in the pew will henceforth be in *supper*, *memorial*, *greeting*, *community*, *presider*, *presence in the assembly*, and *presence in Scripture*. Deregulate the rite by allowing options, adaptations and homemade texts, and you open the common man's *lex credendi* to endless caprice and error. And finally, put the whole mess into the vernacular, and the hapless and helpless layman will swallow every drop of the poison.

*Lex orandi, lex credendi* — the law of praying will be the law of believing. And so, the consequences of the Mass of Paul VI should come as no surprise: *Lex delendi, lex negandi.* Purge doctrines from the Mass that run afoul of ecumenism and modernism, and in the mind of the layman, the doctrines will no longer exist, for in practice, they are denied — and the integrity of the Catholic faith will die the death of a thousand cuts.

## THREE SOLUTIONS

Over the years, Catholics who came to recognize some of the more obvious deficiencies in the new rite arrived at a variety of solutions, most of which

21. "Il 'Proprium de Sanctis,'" 419. "la realtà dottrinale... una nuova impostazione della teologia eucaristica."
22. "Il Nuovo," 274.
23. "Structure and Laws of Liturgical Celebration," in Dalmais, et al., 159.
24. "La Parole de Dieu," 136.

fall into one of three general categories: (1) condemnation and avoidance of the New Mass, (2) coexistence of both rites as legitimate options, and (3) "reform of the reform."

The first of these is fundamentally visceral and practical; it appeals more to the average laymen in the pew. The second and third solutions are more intellectually sophisticated; they appeal primarily to clerics, liturgy buffs and those who are concerned about canonical-legal issues.

**1. Condemnation and Avoidance of the New Mass.** This has always been the practical solution followed by the vast majority of laymen who assist at the traditional Latin Mass: The Mass of Paul VI is Protestant, modernist, sacrilegious and even invalid. One must therefore avoid it, and seek out instead, even at considerable personal inconvenience, a priest who celebrates the traditional Latin Mass.

For many in this camp the affiliations or theological ideas of the priest are not necessarily important; he may be an older priest, an SSPX priest, a sedevacantist, an FSSP priest, a Feeneyite, or a diocesan priest operating with approval from his Ordinary. What counts is that the priest celebrates some form of the traditional Latin Mass.

While the underlying instinct at work here is fundamentally sound (the Mass of Paul VI is wrong and must be avoided), the solution is visceral: I am repelled by the New Mass, and I will take refuge in any (or almost any) celebration of the old Mass. Without realizing it, those who follow this course of action end up thereby in a type of consumer religion. It's the *Mass* that matters and that's *all* that matters. The larger issues (authority and ecclesiology, for example) do not figure prominently in their equation, if at all.

All who adhere to this position would no doubt condemn the liturgical anarchy that the Vatican II reforms unleashed. But by not looking beyond the narrow question of which Mass they prefer, they become merely one more factor contributing to the chaos.

**2. Coexistence of Both Rites.** This school of thought proposed that the Mass of Paul VI and the traditional Mass be allowed to coexist on an equal footing. Assistance at either rite would then become a matter not of obligation, but rather of choice for the individual Catholic. If the New Mass appealed to you, fine; if the old Mass appealed, also fine. Whatever...

The underlying assumption was that no *substantial* difference exists between the two rites; both are equally Catholic, both authentically represent the Church's law of believing, and both are equally reverent. So the decision to assist at the traditional Latin Mass is not a matter of *obligation* (the New Mass destroys the faith, and I must therefore seek out a rite that is Catholic),

but merely of individual *preference* (I like the old Mass better).

This is essentially the principle that Benedict XVI implemented in his 2007 Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*. The New Mass, he decreed, would henceforth be the "Ordinary Form" of the Roman Rite, while the old Mass would be the "Extraordinary Form" of the Roman Rite. Both are two uses of "one and the same rite" and would mutually "enrich" each other.

Coexistence was also the solution that Archbishop Lefebvre eventually proposed: Let the people who want it have the old Mass. His hope here was that most Catholics would eventually "choose Tradition," and that the New Mass (which Lefebvre considered intrinsically evil) would thus wither away. There are a good number in the traditionalist camp, no doubt, who still cherish this hope.

There are two problems with such a solution.

First, those who accept the coexistence of both rites in exchange for official recognition neutralize their capacity to wage any serious battles against the errors and evils of the New Mass. Sure, they can express reservations about the rite or even criticize, albeit diplomatically, its many shortcomings and defects. But he who dares speak the truth — that the New Mass is a sacrilege and destroys Catholic doctrine — will soon find himself silenced.

Groups that receive official Vatican approval for an apostolate that promotes the old Mass (the Fraternity of St. Peter, the Institute of Christ the King, etc.) must therefore necessarily trim their sails and follow the course of self-censorship, even though most of their priests (one suspects) are appalled by the New Mass and do not really consider it an alternative Roman Rite.

Second, in light of our conclusions about the doctrinal content of the Mass of Paul VI, it would be impossible (both logically and morally) for any Catholic to assent to coexistence for the two rites. To do so would reduce the principle *lex orandi, lex credendi* to an absurdity, because, despite Benedict XVI's claim in *Summorum Pontificum* that the "law of prayer" in both rites is the same, the *lex orandi* of the Mass of Paul VI in fact destroys the very *lex credendi* that the traditional Latin Mass professes.

How can these two rites then be treated as mere options, alternative equivalents in the practical order? How can participating in a rite which *professes* the Catholic faith or participating in a rite which *destroys* the faith be reduced to a mere preference — one that is contingent upon nothing more than "attachment," "affection," "culture," "personal familiarity," or upon whether one appreciates "a sacrality which attracts many people"?

To propose coexistence is to embrace, wittingly or unwittingly, the dogma-free religion of the modernists, where personal religious sentiment is

king. Thus, a Catholic is free to choose any liturgical style for the Mass that appeals to him, be it Life Teen or Tridentine, because doctrine is secondary and because everything in the modernist sacramental system is, as St. Pius X said, "explained by inner impulses or needs."

And the grave irreverence towards the Blessed Sacrament and the sacred character of the Mass that is integral to the new rite? With coexistence, sacrilege is merely a legitimate alternative to the "sacrality which attracts many people" in the old rite. If you are not attracted by sacrality, well, there is always the Ordinary Form of the Roman Rite. Sacrality or sacrilege — it's your choice.

With coexistence, therefore, the old Mass, the Catholic doctrine it expresses, and the reverential spirit it exudes are just one more attraction in the big tent of the post-Vatican II liturgical circus. But if you are attracted by the New Mass, its assembly theology and its low sacrality content, not to worry. There's also a place for you in the tent. Just look for the cardinal with the balloon — His Eminence is standing next to the calliope and not far from the clowns.

**3. Reform of the Reform.** Advocates for this solution propose that the Mass of Paul VI be reformed along more traditional lines. Some also favor coexistence of the old and new rites.

As regards specifics of the reforms to be introduced, here it is a case of *quot sententiae, tot doctores* — there are as many opinions on the details as there are advocates for the position. Thus, reform of the reform supporters have suggested that one or more of the following changes be introduced into the Mass of Paul VI: requiring Latin for certain prayers, introducing more Gregorian chant, facing east (instead of towards the people) for the Eucharistic Prayer, abolishing communion in the hand, requiring kneeling for communion, reciting the Penitential Act while bowed, allowing the old Offertory prayers to be used during the Preparation of the Gifts, relocating the Sign of Peace to a place before the Preparation of the Gifts, permitting the Eucharistic Prayer to be recited quietly, reducing or eliminating altogether various options or provisions for instructional commentaries, and restoring the integral texts of the old orations that were edited by the reformers.

For at least a decade, conservatives have been circulating "Roman whispers" stories about how proposals like these are in a document awaiting the signature of some curial cardinal or another, and will soon be promulgated.

And who knows? perhaps this may soon come to pass.[25]

But even adopting *all* these desiderata would still not "fix" the Mass of Paul VI. Most of the proposed changes are purely cosmetic, and the whole process smacks of Anglican High Church ritualism, which dressed up the services of Cranmer's thoroughly Protestant *Book of Common Prayer* with some Catholic externals (copes, incense, Mass vestments, etc.) and Roman-style ceremonial.

Similarly, no matter how deep you pile pre-Vatican II liturgical frou-frou onto the Mass of Paul VI, the doctrinal presuppositions for the rite and its essential nature remain the same underneath — ecumenism, modernism and the assembly-supper. No amount of elaborate decoration or clever grafting can save it, because the disease that it bears springs from its very roots. You cannot turn this rite into what it was never intended to be.

When describing futile endeavors, one sometimes speaks of rearranging the deck furniture on *The Titanic* or of putting lipstick on a pig. But here, the New Mass is beyond even these comparisons — because the ship has already sunk and the pig is dead.

## DELENDA EST

"Let us then not speak of a 'new Mass,'" said Paul VI in his November 1969 discourse on the new rite, "but of a 'new age' in the life of the Church."

And indeed it was. For in the forty years since that baleful First Sunday of Advent in 1969 when the Mass of Paul VI made its debut, ordinations in the U.S. declined by 72%, seminary enrollment by 90%, seminaries by 66%, teaching sisters by 94%, Catholic school enrollment by 55%, and Mass attendance by about 60%. The institutions that remain are infested with modernism.

Catholic life in other countries underwent a similar dramatic decline. It is now all but dead in Europe, and one day in the not-too-distant future, the erstwhile continent of Christendom will be Moslem.

Vatican II, far from launching what John Paul II called "a new springtime for the Church," turned out to be an atom bomb that set off a nuclear winter. And what carried its fallout to the four corners of the Catholic world was the Mass of Paul VI, the engine for a religious revolution that destroyed faith and

25. Indeed, during January 2010 two Vatican officials, Antonio Cardinal Canizares-Llovera, Prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship, and Msgr. Guido Marini, Pontifical Master of Liturgical Ceremonies, delivered addresses criticizing the effects of the post-Vatican II liturgical reforms. Msgr. Marini's remarks were particularly significant because one sensed in them an implicit awareness (if not an admission) that the official reforms themselves, and not merely their application, were at the root of the problems he described.

piety in the minds and hearts of Catholics everywhere.

It is time to put aside the evasions and the denials, and to rid the world of the ecumenical and modernist monstrosity that is the Mass of Paul VI.

This Mass is ended. It must go.

First Sunday of Advent, 2009
40th anniversary of the introduction of
the Mass of Paul VI
45th anniversary of the first liturgical
changes after the Second Vatican Council
*Quanta malignatus est inimicus in sancto...*

Appendix

# 1951, 1958 or 1962: Which Missal Should Be Used?

THIS MAY seem like a strange question to ask at the end of a book which advocates abandoning the Mass of Paul VI in favor of the traditional Latin Mass. But it is a hot topic in certain quarters within the traditionalist movement, and for this reason I decided to address it in an appendix.

First, some historical background is necessary.

In the beginning, the traditionalist resistance to the Vatican II changes presented no unified front at all. The priests who initially refused to accept the Mass of Paul VI in the late 1960s and the early 1970s were few in number, scattered throughout the world, and conducted their ministry under difficult and often improvised circumstances.

Though they all rejected the New Mass, these priests did not seem to share the same ideas about which version of the old Mass was "traditional" or "Tridentine." When you assisted at one of their Masses, therefore, you could encounter anything from the initial Paul VI liturgical changes (1964), to the John XXIII Missal (1962), to the Pius XII rubrical reforms (1955–8), to the St. Pius X Missal (1951). What you would *not* find, however, was strict adherence to any one set of rubrics. (Behold the fruit of twenty years of successive liturgical changes!)

But in those days, if a Catholic was lucky enough to find the old Mass in *any* recognizable form, he probably gave little thought to the rubrical details.

As the traditionalist movement developed and began to attract more priests and laity, however, the rubrical disparities started to become more evident.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, a considerable portion of the traditionalist resistance started to coalesce around Archbishop Lefebvre and his Society of St. Pius X. He alone was ordaining priests and sending them throughout the world to celebrate the traditional Mass. But here too, there was no uniformity.

During the years 1970–6, the liturgical practices followed at the Society's seminary in Ecône, Switzerland were a mish-mash. The daily community Masses there combined the 1964 changes of Paul VI, what "one did in France," and elements of the pre-1955 rites that the archbishop and the seminary rector happened to like.

However, the first priest the archbishop ordained for his new society, Father Peter Morgan, used the pre-1955 (St. Pius X) Missal from the very beginning. Other English-speakers during the Society's early days likewise promoted the old Missal and Breviary. Notable among these were the esteemed lay rubrician John Tyson, compiler of the annual *Ordo* (liturgical and rubrical calendar) for the Mass and Divine Office, and the seminarian Daniel Dolan. Priests in Germany also used the old books.

At the SSPX General Chapter in 1976, the archbishop and the priests prudently recognized the reality of this situation by accepting the use of the pre-1955 books in England, America and Germany. The Ecône seminary and the French district of the Society would work towards using the 1962 Missal (that of John XXIII). This, Lefebvre explained, might not be the ideal, but would at least be an improvement over the practices then observed.

In the early 1980s, Archbishop Lefebvre began negotiating with the Vatican in hopes of regularizing the status of the Society of St. Pius X. One point under discussion was what liturgical books SSPX would be permitted to use. In 1982 the archbishop proposed that this be the last version of the liturgical books in force before the Vatican II changes were introduced: the 1962 Missal and Breviary of John XXIII. Lefebvre told Father Donald Sanborn, then the rector of the SSPX seminary in the U.S., that he chose this because he thought that "Rome would never accept the pre-1955 books."[1]

The decision to settle upon the 1962 Missal and Breviary, then, was driven by the archbishop's negotiating strategy, rather than by an examination of the intrinsic merits or demerits of these books.

On 5 May 1988, Archbishop Lefebvre signed a protocol of agreement with the Vatican to regularize the status of the Society. One provision specified that SSPX would continue to use the 1962 Missal and Breviary.

After the archbishop repudiated the agreement the following day and consecrated bishops in June of that year, the Vatican allowed the priests who left the Society over the consecrations to form priestly associations of their own. These societies were then offered some of the same terms that Lefebvre and SSPX were offered in the May protocol.

As a result, the Priestly Fraternity of St. Peter and similar groups approved since 1988 ended up using the 1962 Missal. This in turn became the version of the Missal that Benedict XVI re-established in his 2007 Motu Proprio.

Thus the rather convoluted tale of how SSPX, FSSP and priests who

1. This decision to impose the 1962 Missal and rubrics led to a rift in 1983 between Archbishop Lefebvre and a group of nine (later twelve) American priests of the Society of St. Pius X, myself among them.

celebrate Mass under the provisions of *Summorum Pontificum* ended up with the 1962 books. Ultimately it was nothing more than an accident of history.

Some traditionalist clergy use the 1958 reforms. For the most part, these priests are sedevacantists and have chosen these books as their norm based on the general idea that one should follow the liturgical books of the man they consider to be the last true pope.

With all this in mind, what principle should one then apply to the question of which Missal to use? On what basis should one decide the merits of the case?

Fortunately we now have a wealth of information about how the New Mass came to be created. None of this was readily available during the early days of the traditionalist resistance.

As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, we now know that there was a clear causal link between the modernist ideology of leading figures in the twentieth-century Liturgical Movement, the series of incremental liturgical changes introduced during the years 1955–62, the principles for liturgical reform laid down by Vatican II, and the creation of the Mass of Paul VI.

It was all one *process*, governed for the most part by one *ideology* and ordered to the same *end* — a total overhaul (read "destruction") of the venerable Mass of the Roman Rite. Thus the *Traum im Herzen* that Jungmann and others dreamt in 1948 gradually became reality during the twenty years of liturgical change that followed.

It is therefore incongruous and illogical for those who reject the *end* product of this process (the Mass of Paul VI) to promote as the grand liturgical ideal one of the *stages* in the process (the 1958 or the 1962 liturgical books). You end up with more of a transitional Latin Mass than a traditional Latin Mass.

Bugnini himself, after all, said that these changes were but temporary steps towards "a general liturgical reform," a "bridge toward the future" in making the liturgy "a new city in which the man of our age can live and feel at ease." Catholics who do not feel at ease with the Late Bugnini of 1969, it seems, should therefore be equally discomfited by the Early and Middle Bugnini of 1955–62.

Why use the bridge if you have no intention of going to the new city?

It is encouraging to learn that others have arrived at this conclusion based on their own examination of the evidence. One hears of priests in various Vatican-approved priestly societies dedicated to the old liturgy, notably the Institute of Christ the King, who make a point of using the pre-1955 liturgical books for some of the very reasons we have outlined here.

One can only hope that this awareness of the difficulties with the 1955–62 reforms will spread, and eventually lead others to return, as a matter of principle and practice, to the 1951 Missal. This, one also hopes, will eventually lead to a reprinting of these liturgical books and their widespread diffusion.

While in a few of its details it may not include everything that even right-thinking liturgical specialists might desire, the Missal of St. Pius X nevertheless embodies the substance of the Church's integral liturgical tradition. It is work untouched by the enemies of that tradition who destroyed the Mass, and should be the basis for any future restoration of the liturgy that would be worthy of the name.

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# Index

*Entries in* **bold type** *indicate main topics. An asterisk before a page number indicates a summary.*


"Abuses," liturgical, xviii, ix, xx, 20, 28, 126, 388, 389
Agustoni, L., 78
Altar. *See* Mass facing the people; Sanctuary arrangement; Side altars
Anti-liturgical heresy. *See* Guéranger, Prosper
Antiquarianism, liturgical (archaeologism), 16, 22, 30, 65
Antonelli, Ferdinando, OFM, 7, 52, 380, 396
Archaeologism. *See* Antiquarianism, liturgical
Ashworth, Henry, OSB, 121, 196, 221, 235, 236, 301n100
Assembly theology. *See* Bouyer, Louis; General Instruction 1969: Theological/doctrinal content; Modernism
Assisi Congress on Pastoral Liturgy (September 1956), 24, 64, 74n75
*Auctorem Fidei*, 111n30, 177n88, 185n124
Augé, Matias, CMF, 222, 224, 232n82, 237n113

Baldovin, John F., 4n8, 6n11, 169nn37–8
Balthasar, Hans Urs von, 64, 171, 193
Bea, Agostino, SJ, 23, 52, 54n20, 65, 71, 74, 261
Beauduin, Lambert, OSB
  on Easter Vigil (1951), 56
  ecumenical initiatives, 15–6, 40–1
  on Roncalli (John XXIII) and ecumenism, 15–6
**Benedict XVI (Joseph Ratzinger)**
  as Ratzinger
    on Communion in the hand, 372–3
    on direction for celebration of Mass,*193
      "balance" of Protestants, 170–1
      facing the "cosmic" East, 170–2
      and Teilhard, 171–2
      and von Balthasar, 171
    on Mass without Words of Consecration, 346–7
**Benedict XVI (Joseph Ratzinger)** *(continued)*
    and pluralism, 129
    on preference as motive for traditional Mass, 5n10
    and translations, 324
  as Benedict XVI
    Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*, xx, 1, 5
      coexistence of old and new rites, 397–9
      and John XXIII liturgical books, 404–5
      and preference for old Mass, 5–6, 398
      reaction to, 1–2
      "sacrality which attracts," 5, 84
    and retro externals for New Mass, 191
    and Teilhard, 171
Bertram, A., 20–1
Bishop, Edmund, 17
Bonneterre, Didier, xx, 16–7, 18, 20, 24, 32, 33n54, 38, 192
Botte, Bernard, OSB, 328
Bouix, D., 7, 396
**Bouyer, Louis,** 13–4, 24, 32–40, *46–7
  influence of ideas on Mass of Paul VI
    in General Instruction, *130
      Mass as assembly, 106–10
      "presences" of Christ, 110–6
      presidency, 121
    in the rite itself
      change in the consecration, 338
      "presence" in assembly, 202, 330, 388–9
      "presence" in Scripture, 258
  influence on Montini (Paul VI), 42–4, 137
  and Mass facing the people, 167
  member of Study Group 10 (*de Ordine Missae*), 78, 81, 196

**Bouyer, Louis** *(continued)*
principal ideas, *46–7
assembly theology, 34–6
attacks on liturgy of earlier eras, 33–4
attacks on Real Presence, 36
attacks on Thomism, 37–8
eucharistic theology of Yngve Brilioth, 34–7
praise for Anglicans, Jansenists, 34
principal ideas, analysis, 38–40
as "Tertullian," 40, 85, 167
**Braga, Carlo, CM**
and General Instruction
as author, 67, 104
on nature and content, 103–5, 137, 140
on "presence" in assembly, 201–2
on Mass of Paul VI, 75, 94, 222. In ritual order.
Introductory Rites
Greeting, 201–2
Orations, 231
ecumenism, 236, 258
miracles, 242
"new foundation of eucharistic theology," 223
"new values, new perspectives," 223, 385
"psychological difficulties," 224
"respectful of earthly reality," 232
revising "doctrinal reality," 223, 395
transforming effects of changes, 244
Preparation of Gifts
need to create new prayers from scratch, 280
Eucharistic Prayer
changes in Consecration
Mystery of Faith given "broader meaning," 344–5
recommended by "experts,"341
Prefaces in ancient sacramentaries, 370
Roman Canon, textual criticism, psychology, 312
Communion Rite
*For the kingdom, the power,* 357
Pax prayer and ecumenism, 358
member of Study Group 10, 196
**Braga, Carlo, CM** *(continued)*
and Pian Reform Commission, 52, 54, 56, 61, 68, 70
John XXIII reforms (1960–2) as temporary, 67–8
on simplified rubrics (1955) as "prelude," 58
Brandolini, Luca, CM, 106, 116n54, 119, 128, 163, 200, 280–1, 289, 389n12
Braun, J., SJ, 167
Brey, Lawrence S., 321
Brilioth, Yngve, 35–6, 40, 43, *46, 75, *130
Bruylants, Placide, OSB, 221
**Bugnini, Annibale, CM,** xix, 10, 11n20, 20n15, 52, 70, 85, 105, 128, 258–9, 276, 315, 316, 323, 367, 395
and Consilium
appointment as Secretary, 73
on art, architecture, furnishings, 161–2, 182
Bugnini-Montini Surprise Factor, 124–5, 127, 128, 131, 155, 394
celebrates first version of New Mass, 79
Children's Directory, 128, 324
controls course of liturgical reform, 73–5, 75–6, 78, *80–1, 196, 221
on General Instruction, 137, 139–40, 143, 334–5
Masonry allegations, 76
on pluralism, 129
on post-Vatican II translations, 96
on purging obstacles to ecumenism, 75
and Mass of Paul VI
Orations
deletions from ancient prayers, 239–40
principles for revisions, 222
Liturgy of the Word
old lectionary as "impoverished," 261
Prayer of Faithful, 255–6
Protestant approval for new lectionary, 261–2
"retaining sound tradition," 260
Preparation of Gifts
"genuine meaning" of Offertory, 280–1
Eucharistic Prayer
on EP2, 328–9

**Bugnini, Annibale, CM** *(continued)*
on EP3, 330
on Mystery of Faith, 342–3, 344, 345
and *pro multis*, 322
Roman Canon as"impoverishment," 313, *349
Communion Rite
Communion in the hand, 372
and Pian Reform Commission
appointment as Secretary, 52–3
changes in rites
Easter Vigil (1951) as "first step to a general liturgical renewal," 56, 61n42
Holy Week reforms (1955) as "third step," 61
simplification of rubrics (1955), 57
"bridge" to the future, 58
"enlightened collaboration of active forces," 58
"new city," 57
possible deception of Pius XII, 65, 71, 198
"second step," 61n42
signals to the "left" of Liturgical Movement, 51
Thieulin conference, 50
who prepared the new rites, 54
work of Commission as "the key to the reform," 49, 405–6
and Preparatory Commission for Vatican II (1960–2)
appointment as Secretary, 70
fired by Cardinal Larraona, 71–2
"progressivist, fanatic, iconoclast," 71
protected by Montini, Bea, 70–1
writes draft of Constitution, 70–1
*Built of Living Stones: Art, Architecture and Worship*, 164n14, 173n54

Cabié, Robert, 335
*Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, 176n77
Callewaert, C., 277, 278
Cappello, F., 348n132
Casel, Odo, OSB, 16, 41, 45, 156
Catholic Action, 23
Cekada, Anthony, 14n1, 143n31, 250n7, 378n66
Church building design
hospitality, 164
"image of the gathered assembly," 162
must "speak to the faith of the people of God," 163
U.S. bishops and, 164
Clark, Alan, 277, 279–80, 283
Clark, Francis, SJ, 156
*Comme le Prévoit*. See Liturgical language
**Communion Rite**, 353–75, 379–81,*381–2, 384, 386–7, 388–9, 391–2, 393–4.
In ritual order.
Our Father, 353–5, 381
gestures of laity, 355
omission of Amen, 355
options for introductory text, 353–4
recitation by all, 354–5
*Libera nos*, 355–8, 381
*For the kingdom, the power*
Gamber on, 357
proclamation of Protestantism, 357
omission of saints, 356–7
origins, 356
rubrical changes, 358
Preparations for Communion, 358–61, 381
Agnus Dei, 360
fraction and commingling, 360
priest's preparation, 361
Sign of Peace, 358–60
Braga on Pax prayer as ecumenical, 358
optional introduction, 359
distribution of Communion, 361–8, 381
combined communion, 362–4
communion chant, 364–5
communion under both kinds, 366–7
lay ministers, 367–8
posture for communion, 365–6
Communion in the hand, 369–74, 381
approval by Paul VI, 371–2
corruption and context, 373–4
handmaid to heresy, 371–4
post-Vatican II heresies, 371
Protestants, 370–1
historical questions, 369–70
communion on tongue adopted, 369–70

**Communion Rite** *(continued)*
Gy on, 369–70
*Mystagogic Catecheses,* 369
"tolerated by Indult"?, 373
rites after Communion, 374–5
common thanksgiving, 374–5
Prayers after Communion, 375. *See also* Orations
purifications, 374
cumulative effects, 379–81, 381, 382
Concelebration, 185–6
**Concluding Rite,** 375–9. In ritual order.
announcements, 376
blessing, 376–7
abolition of *Placeat,* 377
posture, 377
dismissal, 377–9
abolition of Last Gospel, 377–8
suppression of Leonine Prayers, 378
Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF), 346–7
**Consecration: Changes to Formula,** 337–48, *350–1, 390, 391, 393
from Consecration to Institution Narrative, 338–9
modifications to text in EPs, 339–41
Mystery of Faith, 341–4, 351
history and meaning, 341–2
placement before Memorial Acclamation, 344
eschatological meaning, 344–5
removal from "words of the Lord" in new EPs
Braga on, 344–5
Bugnini on, 342
nomenclature and significance, 338–9, 350–1, 391
in Mass of Paul VI, 339
modernist theology, 338–9
Protestant theology, 338
in traditional Mass, 337–8
validity, effects upon, 346–8, 350–1, 393
CDF declaration, 346–7
narrative mode and defect of intention, 347–8
*Ottaviani Intervention,* 347
Consilium, 79, 161
and art, architecture, furnishings, 164–5, 167–9, 185–6, 190
Bugnini as Secretary, 75–6
and controversy over 1969 GI, 136–40, 151, 155, 156, 157
creation, structure, powers, 73–5, 83–4
and Mass of Paul VI, 195–382 passim
Protestant observers, 75
and translations, 95–101, *101–2
Coomaraswamy, Rama P., 4n6
Corruption theory. *See* Jungmann, Josef, SJ
Coughlan, Peter, 128, 140, 198, 201, 202, 209, 287
Crichton, J.D., 108, 148, 149, 156, 198n4, 201n15, 203n27
*Cum Nostra Hac Aetate,* 57n27

Davidoglou, Myra, 4n6
Davies, Michael, xviii–xix, 4n6, 94, 99, 100, 101, 137n9
Day, Thomas, 23n23, 247
De Marco, Angelus A., 86
*De Musica Sacra,* 62n43
Deiss, Lucien, CSSp, 253n15, 367
Deregulation of the liturgy. *See* General Instruction 1969: Deregulation of liturgy; Pius XII
Diekmann, Godfrey, OSB, 71, 260
Directory for Masses with Children *Pueros Baptizatos,* 128n109, 334n94
Doctrine, Discipline, Ceremonies. *See* General Instruction 1969: Deregulation of liturgy; Pius XII
Dolan, Daniel L., 66n60, 404
*Dominicae Cenae,* 372
*Dominicae Resurrectionis Vigiliam,* 55n22
Droleskey, Thomas A., 156n74
Dumas, Antoine, 99–100, 221, 307, 387n5
Duployé, P., 21, 50
Dupuy, Jacques, 93, 99
Durig, W., 221

**Easter Vigil (1951)**
"adapting Roman Missal to contemporary mentality," 49

**Easter Vigil (1951)** *(continued)*
"first step to a general liturgical renewal," 56
ritual changes, 54–6
surprise for Bugnini's superiors, 55
**Ecumenism,** 8, 8n16, 11
and Bouyer's theology, 35–6, 40
and General Instruction, *130–1
absence of transubstantiation and propitiation, 110–1
ambiguity of 1970 revision, 156–7, *159
assembly theology of Bouyer/Brilioth, 105–9, *389–90
"explicitly ecumenical spirit," 105
fruit of "doctrinal convergence," 105
priesthood, 117
and Liturgical Movement, 15–6,19–21, *45
and Mass of Paul VI (the rite), *390–2. In ritual order.
Introductory Rites, 205–6, 209, 210, 218
Orations, 223, *244–5
merits of the saints, 240–1
true Church, etc., 236–40
Liturgy of the Word, *274
ancient Prayer of the Faithful, 255
consulting Protestants on texts, 261–2
omission of "anti-ecumenical passages," 270–1
Preparation of Gifts, *302–4
acceptable text retained, 291–2
ecumenism and abolishing Offertory, 280–1
Jewish roots, 286–7
nomenclature, 275–6
Protestant objections to Offertory, 278–9
removal of "immolation," 301
Eucharistic Prayers
changes in Consecration, *349–51
adopting Protestant terminology, 338
removal of Mystery of Faith, 343
ecumenical intercessions, 335–6, 337
EP2 and textual changes, 329
**Ecumenism** *(continued)*
*pro multis* as "for all," 321–3, 391
Protestant objections
to silent Canon, 319
to text of Roman Canon, 310–2
Communion Rite
Communion in the hand, 370–1
Communion under both kinds, 367, 373–4
*For the kingdom, the power*, 357
*Libera nos*, 356–7
Our Father and Amen, 355
Pax prayer as ecumenical, 358
Prayers after Communion. *See* Orations
thanksgiving after Communion, 375
and pre-Vatican II liturgical changes, 60
Protestant observers in Consilium, 75, 282
and purging ecumenical obstacles from liturgy, 75
and traditionalists' objections, 2–4
and vernacular translations, 98–9
Ellard, Gerald, SJ, 23n23, 64n52, 282n33
Emminghaus, Johannes H., 175, 211, 310, 331
*Environment and Art in Catholic Worship*, 164, 173, 180–5, 187–8
*Eucharistiae Participationem.* See General Instruction 1969: Deregulation of liturgy
**Eucharistic Prayers: Generally,** 324–7, *349–51, 384, 385, 391, 393. *See also* Roman Canon; Silent Canon
nomenclature and extent, 305–6
promulgation, 78, 81, 324–5
reduction of priestly gestures, 325–7, 350, 386–7
structure, 325
**Eucharistic Prayers (EPs): Texts and analysis,** 327–37, *350
1. EP 1 "The Roman Canon," 328
2. EP 2 "Hippolytus," 328–9
3. EP 3 "Roman Tradition," 329–30
4. EP 4 "Salvation History," 331
5. EP for Reconciliation 1, 331–2
6. EP for Reconciliation 2, 332
7. EP for Various Needs 1, 332–3

**Eucharistic Prayers (EPs)** *(continued)*
8. EP for Various Needs 2, 333
9. EP for Various Needs 3, 333–4
10. EP for Various Needs 4, 334
11. EPs for Children 1–3, 334–5
12. Ecumenical intercessions, 335–6
13. Analysis, 336–7, 384, 385, 391, 393
*Eucharisticum Mysterium*, 137, 148, 179n96
Father Chuck, 195, 197, 201, 202, 203, 250, 251, 256, 265, 298, 302, 332, 336, 336n10, 354, 355, 359, 376, 387
Father Retreaux, 197, 203, 250, 251, 265, 275, 298, 302, 328, 334, 355, 372
Ferretti, Walter, 222, 375n57
Fontaine, Gaston, CRIC, 196
Fortescue, Adrian, 90n26, 121, 288n60, 341
Fraternity of St. Peter (FSSP), 1, 4, 398, 405
Freburger, William J., 129n111

Gamber, Klaus, 73, 110, 166–7, 169, 209n40, 257n31, 357
Gassner, Jerome, 310, 342–3
Gélineau, J., 78
**General Instruction on Roman Missal: Origins & nature**
Braga heads subcommittee, 67, 104
composition of GI, 104–5
denials of GI's doctrinal and theological nature, 136–8
explicitly ecumenical terminology adopted, 105
as theological/doctrinal exposition, 103–5, 129, 137, 138, 138–40
**General Instruction 1969: Deregulation of liturgy,** *131
Bugnini-Montini Surprise Factor, 124–5, 127, 128, 131, 155, 394
deregulation in the Mass of Paul VI, 126–7, 394
introduce or invent texts, 127, 394
omission or adaptation, 127, 394
selection from fixed texts or rites, 127, 394
doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, 22–3, 125–7, 388, 394
in *Eucharistiae Participationem*, 122, 206, 251, 298, 302, 354
**General Instruction 1969: Deregulation of liturgy** *(continued)*
higher principles and pluralism, 67, 127–9, 131, 388
Brandolini on, 128
Coughlan on, 128
Richstatter on, 128
Vatican II and introductory comments, 202
**General Instruction 1969: Theological/doctrinal content,** 105–24, *129–31, 389–90. In order discussed in Chapter 5.
*1. What is the Mass?,* 105–10, 130
definition of Mass as "assembly," 106–8, 130
definition as reworking of Bouyer and Brilioth, 106, 107n12, 130
meal, sacrifice, thanksgiving, memorial, 108–10, 130
*2. How is Christ present at Mass?,* 110–6, 130
Christ present in the assembled community, 112–4
distortion of Mt 18:20, 112–3
as "fundamental presence," 113–4
Christ present in His Word, 115–6, 258–9
confusion of presences, 115
"nourishment" imagery, 115–6
omission of transubstantiation, 110–1, 130
presence in general, 112
Real Presence vs. "real" presences
devaluation by inflation, 110–1
Paul VI's *Mysterium Fidei*, 111
*3. What does the Mass re-present?,* 116–7, 130
the Last Supper, 116–7
the narration of the institution, 117
*4. Who offers the Mass?,* 117–24, 130–1
*Mediator Dei* on errors, 118, 118n61
the people offer the Mass, 118–20
the priest "presides," 120–4
**General Instruction 1970,** 133–60, *157–9
analysis, 155–7, 159
choose sacrifice or assembly, 156

**General Instruction 1970** *(continued)*
"cleverness of the revisers," 156–7
rite itself remains unchanged, 157, 390
changes (1970) in GI, 148–53, 158–9
Crichton on "incriminated" expressions, 149
definition of Mass as revised, 149–50
Last Supper made present, 150–2
miscellaneous revisions, 153
president of the assembly, 152–3
remaining problems, 154–5
Foreword (*Proemium*), 142–8, 158
defends doctrinal orthodoxy of New Mass, 143–6
affirmation of *lex credendi*, 143–5
reaffirmation of priesthood, 145–6
an "ephemeral work," 148
New Mass as "witness to tradition," 146–8, 384
appeals to Trent, 145–6
"language of modern theology," 147
origins, 142–3
*Ottaviani Intervention,* 134–42, 157–8
Guérard des Lauriers and, 134–5
influence on traditionalist writings, 4n6
objections to the New Mass, 135–6
origins, 134
Paul VI publicly defends New Mass, 140–2
response of Vatican, 136–8
theological nature of GI 1969, 138–40
**General Instruction 2000,** 153–4
"appropriate" gestures of reverence, 366
"conservative" modifications, 154
criticisms of Brian Harrison, 154n70
crucifix, 177
cultural adaptation, 154
discouraging private Masses, 154n70, 186
and "distracting" statues, 183
forbidding tabernacle on altar where Mass is offered, 180
and sacred vessels, 188
German High Mass, 23
Gihr, Nicholas, 89, 89n17, 91, 190, 278, 284, 290, 290n65, 291, 296, 299, 310, 316, 326n70
Gracias, G.A., 221
Groeber, Conrad, memorandum of, 18–21
Guardini, Romano
break from Thomism, 44
influence on Montini, 41–2, 197
modernism, 16, 44, 45
**Guéranger, Prosper, OSB**
on the anti-liturgical heresy, 14–5, 31, 45, 337, 385–6
on Catholic doctrine and the liturgy, 221
condemned by Bouyer, 34, 38, 45
on Latin, 89
*Liturgical Institutions*, 15, 45
*Liturgical Year*, 15
on "selective scripture," 248–9, 265, 273
on vernacular and heresy, 45, 91
Guérard des Lauriers, M.-L., OP, 134–5, 135n3, 142, *157
Gy, Pierre-Marie, OP, 78, 369, 370

Hänggi, A., 78, 143n31
Harrison, Brian, OS, 154
Herwegen, Ildefons, OSB, 16, 41, 45
Hildebrand, Dietrich von, 321–2
**Holy Week Reforms (1955),** 58–61
"adapting Roman Missal to contemporary mentality," 49
Bugnini's "third step towards a general liturgical renewal," 61
deception of Pius XII, 64–5
justification, 58–9
preparation for Mass of Paul VI, 49, 68–9, 80–1, 375–6
ritual changes, 59–61
Hovda, Robert W., 122, 123–4, 124n94, 201
Hughes, Kathleen, RSCJ, 25n31, 28n41

*In Novum Codicem Rubricarum,* 58n36
Institute of Christ the King, 1, 398, 405
*Institutio Generalis Missalis Romani*. See General Instruction
**Instruction on Sacred Music (1958),** 61–3
commentator, 63n
Dialogue Mass, 62–3
lector, 63

**Instruction on Sacred Music (1958)** *(continued)*
positive points, 62
responsorial psalm, 63
vernacular, 63
*Inter Oecumenici* (1964), 76–7
**Introductory Rites,** 195, 197–218, *217–8, 390, 392. In ritual order.
direction and purpose, 197–9, 203–4, 217
establishing "communion," 198–9
facing man, 197–8
Entrance Song, 199–200, 217
psychological, communitarian purpose, 199
retention of Introit for ecumenical reasons, 200
substitution of other songs, 200
Greeting the assembly, 201–4, 217
introductory commentary, 202–4
theology of greeting, 195, 201–2
Penitential act, 204–10, 218
an Asperges without the devil, 210
change of posture, 208–9, 392
congregational, rather than a priestly rite, 205
creation of texts for form C, 208, 394
new formulas, 206–8
suppressed prayers, 209–10
suppression of Psalm 42, 204–5
Kyrie, 210–2, 218
nine-fold arrangement changed to six, 211
suppressed if part of penitential act, 212
Gloria, 212–3, 218
limitation of use on saints' feasts, 212–3
Collect (Opening Prayer), 213–5, 218
form, 213
practices in U.S., 214–5
rubrics, 214
suppression of commemorations, 215
general desacralizing effects, 216–7
conversation in church, 216–7
suppression of ritual actions, 216
summary, 217–8
**Irreverence**
cumulative effects, 379–81, *381–2
**Irreverence** *(continued)*
in Introductory Rite, 216–7
summary
analysis, 388–9
irreverent atmosphere, 387–8
material prerequisites, 193, *386
ritual gestures, 386–7
thesis, 7–8, 11, 196
and traditionalists' objections, 2–4, 354

Jenny, Henri, 314
Jeremias, Joachim, 322, 323
Jesuit Order
liturgical sensibilities, 375
renowned rubrical expertise, 23n23
worthy of proper Preface, 306n6
John Paul II, 5, 129, 288n59, 372, 400
**John XXIII (Angelo Roncalli)**
as Roncalli
Beauduin on his ecumenism, 15–6
and Liturgical Movement, 23
as John XXIII. *See also* John XXIII Missal
and "higher principles," 67, 388
inserts St. Joseph into Canon, 68
and Jules Isaac, 378
and *New Code of Rubrics* (1960), 66
removes *perfidis Judaeis* from Good Friday, 240n131
*Veterum Sapientia*, 71
**John XXIII Missal, Breviary, Rubrics (1960–2),** 65–8, 403–6
historical background to use by
clergy following Motu Proprio, 403–5
Fraternity of St. Peter, 404–5
Institute of Christ the King, 404
Society of St. Pius X, 403–5
new Code of Rubrics
additional changes, 66–7, 66n59
consolidation of previous changes, 66
as problematic basis for liturgical restoration, 405–6
as stage in creation of New Mass, 405
suppression of Confiteor before Communion, 362
as transitional, 67–8
Johnson, Cuthbert, OSB, 220n3, 307, 385n4

Jounel, Pierre, 78, 286
**Jungmann, Josef, SJ,** 10, 13–4, 24–31, 32, 38,*46–7, *80–1
analysis of principal ideas, 30–1, 373, 388–9
antiquarianism, 30
contradictory principles, 31, 385
liturgy as pedagogy, 31, 244
modernism, 30
corruption theory, 26–8, 30–1, 33, 38, 52,74, 196, 373, 385
and Arianism, 26, 200
on Baroque and Tridentine liturgy, 27
on "Fog Curtain," 27, 181
on loss of corporate worship, 26
on medieval liturgy, 26–7
on "overemphasis" on Real Presence, 27
his "heart's dream" for the Mass in 1948, 51–2
influence of *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 13, 25–6, 64n51
influence on Montini
corruption and pastoral liturgy theories, 42, 43, *46, 84
ecclesiology, 41
and Mass facing the people, 167–9
and Mass of Paul VI, 24, 31, 385, 388–9.
In ritual order.
penitential rite, 211
*Aufer a nobis*, 209
posture, 208–9
priestly, not congregational, 205–6
Psalm 42, 204–5
Gloria, 213
Collect, 215
Liturgy of Word, 247, 252
Preparation of Gifts, 277, 281
"In spirit of humility," 291–2
Jewish table blessing, 286
Secret, 297
Eucharistic Prayers, 306
on EP3, 329–30
on Memorial Acclamation, 344
on Mystery of Faith, 341
Roman Canon, 309, 310
shortening it, 52, 310
silent Canon, 318
**Jungmann, Josef, SJ** *(continued)*
Communion Rite
Communion in hand, 369
suppression of *anima*, 363
his modernist methodology, 44–5
pastoral liturgy theory, 26, 28–30, 31, 196, 244, 247, 388–9
and deregulation in GI, 105, 126–7, 388–9
Reid on two senses of "pastoral," 28
"rigidity" and adaptation, 29–30, 31
and Pian Reform Commission, 54, 405–6
and Preparatory Commission, 70
on propitiation as "stumbling block," 109, 151
and Study Group 10 (*de Ordine Missae*), 78, 196
and Vatican II Preparatory Commission, 70
and vernacular, 51, 86

Keifer, Ralph A., 206
King, Archdale A., 204, 252, 284, 296, 309, 316, 369, 370
Klauser, Theodore, 44, 51, 52
Koenker, Ernest Benjamin, 44
Korolevsky, Cyril, 88n15
Krosnicki, Thomas A., 375n57
Küng, Hans, 314–5

*La Riforma Liturgica (1948-1975)*, xix, 74
Lapide, Cornelius a, 151n56
Latin. *See* Liturgical language
Lécuyer, Joseph, CSSp, 113
Lefebvre, Marcel, xviii
"experiment in tradition," 3, 398
on Mass of Luther, 3
on Mass of Paul VI
and change in *modus significandi*, 347n129
criticisms, 2–3
and *lex orandi*, 3–4
at 1967 Synod, 79
*la Messe de toujours*, 68
and *Ottaviani Intervention*, 134–5
and priestly gestures, 326n71
and use of John XXIII Missal, 403–5

Legrand, Hervé-Marie, 120n72, 121n76, 122n80
Leo XIII, 378n65
Lercaro, Giacomo, 23, 64, 74, 135, 165
*Lex orandi, lex credendi,* 396, 398
  Benedict XVI on, 398
  destruction in Mass of Paul VI, 396
  Foreword to GI on, 144
  and modernists, 5–6, 17–8
  "most important organ of ordinary magisterium," 11
  origin and meaning, 3–4, 7
  Paul VI on, 141
*Liturgical Discourse of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass,* 91n27
**Liturgical language: Latin and the vernacular,** 83–102, *101–2
  Latin
    for "atmosphere," 84–5
    exceptions, 87–8, 102
    history as liturgical language, 85–7, 101–2
    *Mediator Dei* on, 87
    Montini on "obstacle to understanding," 42
    Paul VI on "thick curtain," 84
    Pius XII on, 90
    reasons for use, 88–90, 102
  post-Vatican II translations
    bishops' conferences blamed for errors, 92–5
    Bugnini on legislation, 96
    common themes for errors, 94
    Dumas on legislation, 99–100, 102
    "grace" disappears, 94
    Instruction *Comme le Prévoit,* 97–9, 102
    Paul VI approves Instruction, 101, 102
    preparatory legislation, 9, 56, 101, 102
  Vatican II on Latin and vernacular, 83, 101
  Vernacular
    Guéranger on, 91
    and heresy, 90–2, 102
**Liturgical Movement,** 13–47, *45–7
  and ecumenism, 15, 19–21
  "enlightened collaboration of all the active forces," 58
**Liturgical Movement** *(continued)*
  Guéranger, Prosper and, 14–5, 45
  history, 13–47
  *Mediator Dei* as reproach to, 21–3, 46
  and modernism, 10, 15–9, 44–5, *45–7
  modernist methodology praised, 44–5
  *Mystici Corporis* as warning to 20, 46
  in 1950s, 23–4
  opposition, 18–9, 45–6
  origins, 14–5
  youth movements and liturgical experiments, 16, 41
*Liturgical Piety.* See Bouyer, Louis
**Liturgy of the Word: Lectionary** (cycle of Scripture readings), *273–4, 383–4, 385, 391, 393. In order discussed in Chapter 10.
  generally, 247–9
    "adroit choices," 248–9
    a "fuller exposition," 248
    problem of a multi-year cycle, 248
  traditional (pre-Vatican II) lectionary, 257–8
  Vatican II and the readings, 258–60
  creation of the new lectionary, 260–3
    approval by Protestants, 261–2
    Paul VI approves new lectionary without reading it, 263
    research and first steps, 260–1
    work of Study Group 11, 260
  characteristics of new lectionary, 263–5
    options and deregulation, 264–5
    and saints, 265
    three-year cycle, 263–5
  "difficult texts" of New Testament omitted,
    anti-ecumenical passages, 270
    condemnations of impurity, 267–8
    divine wrath, 266–7
    hell, 268–9
    made optional, moved to weekdays, 265–73
    narrow the gate, 268
    omitting scripture passages, 272
    punishment in this life for sin, 267
    role of women, 271–2
    the world, 269

**Liturgy of the Word: Lectionary** *(continued)*
worthiness for the Eucharist, 272
Guéranger on "selective scripture," 273
analysis, 272–3
**Liturgy of the Word: Structure and parts,** *273–4, 275–6, 383–4, 391, 393. In ritual order.
new direction and personnel, 249–50
restructured rite, 250
introductory comments, 251
intervenient chants, 252–3
Responsorial Psalm, Gospel Acclamation, 252
set aside Vatican II, tradition, art, universality, 252–3
Sequences, 253–4
prayers before Gospel, 254
Creed
limitation of use, 254–5
replacement by Apostles' Creed, 255
Prayer of the Faithful, 255–7
absence of fixed texts, 256
oldest form invariable, anti-ecumenical, 255
promoted by Liturgical Movement, 255
recitation at presidential chair "a novelty," 256–7
work of Study Group 12 (*Oratio Fidelium*), 255–6
revisions "too spiritual," 256
Longley, Alfred C., 63n50
Loonbeek, Raymond, 21n20
Löw, Josef, CSsR
becomes Bugnini's enemy, 71
*Memoria on a Liturgical Reform,* 53–4
and Pian Reform Commission, 50, 52
Lucchesi, G., 221

Martimort, A.G., 70, 243, 396
**Mass facing East**
Ratzinger as advocate, 170–2
"cosmic" theology, 170
and Protestant "balance," 170–1
and Teilhard, 171–2
and von Balthasar, 171
symbolism in Fathers, St. Thomas, 166
**Mass facing the people**
"action of deliberative assembly," 250, 273
and Bouyer, 167
fraudulent history, 166–7
and Gamber, 166–7
and Jungmann, 167–8
legislation after Vatican II, 77, 81, 164–5
Paul VI: "a pleasure… claimed as a right," 165
precedents in 1950s Holy Week rites, 55–6, 59, 60, 69
and "reform of the reform," 399
as symbolizing "anthropocentric emphasis," 168–9, 392
Mass of the Faithful, Mass of the Catechumens, 375–6
**Mass of Paul VI. Chapter Summaries**
2. The Liturgical Movement, 45–7
3. Liturgical Changes: 1948–1969, 80–2
4. Latin to the Vernacular, 101–2
5. The 1969 General Instruction, 129–31
6. The 1970 General Instruction, 157–9
7. Art, Architecture, Furnishings, 192–4
8. The Introductory Rites, 217–8
9. The Revised Orations, 244–5
10. The Liturgy of the Word, 273–4
11. The Preparation of the Gifts, 302–4
12. The Eucharistic Prayer, 349–51
13. The Communion and Concluding Rites, 381–2
**Mass of Paul VI. Corollaries**
1. Rupture with living tradition, 9, *383–4
2. Spurious "restoration" of antiquity, 10, *384–6
**Mass of Paul VI. Preparation of *Ordo Missae***
approval by Paul VI, 79
Bugnini as Great Architect of the New Mass, 75–6
Consilium and its powers, 73–5,
first experimental celebration by Bugnini, 79
manner of publication, 79–80
members of Study Group 10 (*de Ordine Missae*), 78, 196
*Missa Normativa*, 79

**Mass of Paul VI. Preparation of *Ordo Missae* (continued)**
Protestant "observers," 75
and SC §50, 73, 78–9, 81
at Synod of Bishops (1967), 79
transitional changes, 76–8
*Inter Oecumenici* (1964), 76–7
*Nuper Edita* (1965), 77
*Tres Abhinc Annos* (1967), 77–8
new Eucharistic Prayers (1968), 78
**Mass of Paul VI. Rite.** In ritual order. *See* Introductory Rites; Orations; Liturgy of the Word: Structure and Parts; Liturgy of the Word: Lectionary; Prefaces; Sanctus; Eucharistic Prayers: Generally; Eucharistic Prayers (EPs): Texts and analysis; Consecration; Communion Rite; Concluding Rite
**Mass of Paul VI. Thematic Summaries and Conclusions**
1. Rupture with living tradition, 383–4
2. Spurious restoration of antiquity, 384–6
3. Grave irreverence, 386–9
material prerequisites, 386
ritual gestures, 386–7
irreverent atmosphere, 387–8
analysis, 388–9
4. Destruction of Catholic doctrine, 389–96
assembly theology as underlying error, 389–90
ecumenism in the rite, 390–2
modernism in the rite, 392–3
deregulation of doctrine, 394
analysis, 394–6
5. Solutions, 396–401
condemnation and avoidance, 397
coexistence of both rites, 397–9
reform of the reform, 399–400
*delenda est*, 400–1
**Mass of Paul VI. Thesis and Terms**
corollaries
as rupture, 9
as spurious "restoration," 10
definitions
Mass of Paul VI, 8
**Mass of Paul VI. Thesis and Terms (continued)**
traditional Mass, 9
method, 8–9
motives for old rite rather than new, 1–2
doctrinal and moral, 2–4
preference and sentiment, 5–7
overview of this work, 10–1
thesis, 7–8
**Mass of Paul VI. Traditionalists' Criticisms**
as doctrinal and moral, 2–4, 397
*Ottaviani Intervention,* 134–8
written critiques, xviii–xix, 4n6
*Mass of the Roman Rite: Missarum Solemnia.* See Jungmann, Josef, SJ
*Maxima Redemptionis,* 58n38, 61
Mazza, Enrico, 155n73, 329, 329n78, 332n92, 336n100, 385nn6–7
McCarthy, John F., 321
McManus, Frederick R., 63n50, 71, 93, 94, 125
**Mediator Dei,** 42, 64, 68
and antiquarianism, 30, 30n49
contents and analysis, 21–3
doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, 22–3, 125–6, 388
and errors on priesthood, 118
and Latin, 90
and Offertory processions, 382
reproach to Liturgical Movement, 22–3, 24, 51
**Memorial Acclamation,** 341, 344
as eschatological, 344–5, 351
Paul VI: "My Lord and my God" inappropriate, 345
purpose, 344
**Memoria on a Liturgical Reform (1948)**
Löw as author, 50–3
multi-year scripture cycle, 53
"problem" of Holy Week, 53
"problem" of Mass, 53–4
Merkelbach, B., 38n75, 348n131
*Missa Normativa,* 79
*Missale Romanum* (1951), 9, 405–6. *See also* Pius X, St., Missal, Breviary, Rubrics

*Missale Romanum* (1962), 404–6. *See also* John XXIII Missal, Breviary, Rubrics (1960–2)
as transitional rite, 67–8
**Modernism,** 8, 9, 10–1, 74. *See also* Bouyer, Louis; Jungmann, Josef, SJ
and art, architecture, furnishings, 166n, 168, 171–2, 179–80, 183–4, 211
side altars, 185–6
statues, 183, 184
tabernacle, 180
and co-existence of rites, 6–7, *398–9
and ecumenism, 17–8, 312, 392
and General Instruction, 104, 105, *130–1, 133, 134, 140, 141
absence of transubstantiation and propitiation, 110–1
assembly theology of Bouyer/Brilioth, 105–10
invented "real presences," 110–6
people offer and priest presides, 117–24
revision of 1970, 143, 151–2, 154–5, 157, 158–9
in Liturgical Movement, 10, 15–9, 44–5, *45–7, 76
a "fruitful trend," 44–5
and Mass of Paul VI (the rite), *385–6, *389–90, *392–4, *394–6. In ritual order.
Introductory Rites, 198, 201, 202, 212, 215, 216, *218
Orations, 222–3, 243–4, *244–5
*anima* in prayers for dead, 235–6, 245
hell and eternal rest, 228–9, 234–5, 245
merits of the saints, 240–1, 245
miracles, 241–3, 245
"negative theology," 224–31, 234–5, 245
Liturgy of the Word, *274
"action of a deliberative assembly," 250
"change theological mentality of people," 273
"difficult texts," omitted, etc.
anti-ecumenical passages, 270
condemnations of impurity, 267–8
divine wrath, 266–7
**Modernism** *(continued)*
hell, 268–9
narrow the gate, 268
omitting scripture passages, 272
punishment in this life for sin, 267
role of women, 271–2
the world, 269
worthiness for the Eucharist, 272
nomenclature, 259
Preparation of Gifts, 290, 296, *303–4
new texts, 285–6
Prayer over Gifts, 299–302
Teilhard's "work of human hands," 287–8
Eucharistic Prayers, 328, 349–51
changes in Consecration, *349–51
altering Catholic terminology, 338–9
avoiding "form of sacrament," 338–9
effect of changes, 346–8
modification of text, 340–1
removal of Mystery of Faith, 342–3
"correct" criteria for EPs, 325
modernist objections
to silent Canon, 320
to text of Roman Canon, 312–3, 314–6
new texts, 328–35 passim, 336–7
priestly gestures, 327
*pro multis* as "for all," 321–3
universalism in new texts, 335–6
Communion Rite, *381–2
Communion in the hand and modern heresies, 371–3, 373–4
Communion under both kinds, 367
concluding rite, 377, 378
lay ministers, 367–8
*Libera nos*, 356–7, 358
Our Father and Amen, 355n7
Pax rite, 359
people's preparation prayers, 362–3
priest preparation prayers, 361
procession and assembly theology, 365
thanksgiving after Communion, 375

**Modernism** *(continued)*
and pre-Vatican II liturgical changes, 58–9, 62–3
and private Masses, 184–6, 392.
and traditionalists' objections to New Mass, 2–4
and Vatican II's liturgy constitution, 72–3
and vernacular translations, 93–5, 98–9, 101, *102
Molin, J.B., FMC, 256, 276n3
**Montini, Giovanni Battista.** *See* Paul VI
Morin, Dominique Michel, 4n6
Most Holy Trinity Seminary, xx
Most, William G., 321
Moynihan, Robert, 76n83
Ms. Gauleiter (Sr. Albertus Magnus), 250, 256, 272, 282, 302, 335n96, 355n8, 368, 376
Murphy, John L., 93n33
*Musicae Sacrae Disciplinae*, 61, 87n14
*Mysterium Fidei*, 111, 113n38, 114, *130, 137, 148, 345, 371
*Mystici Corporis*, 14, 20, 41, *46

National Conference of Catholic Bishops Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, 93, 173, 180, 183, 184, 185, 187
*New Code of Rubrics* (1960). *See* John XXIII Missal, Breviary, Rubrics (1960–2)
New Mass. *See* Mass of Paul VI
Nocent, Adrien, 258n40, 273, 396
*Notitiae*, 96, 99, 138, 139, 161
*Novum Rubricarum*, 65n54
*Novus Ordo Missae.* See Mass of Paul VI
*Nuper Edita* (1965), 77

O'Connell, J., 289
O'Connell, J.B., 173, 176
**Offertory Rite in Traditional Mass.** *See* Preparation of Gifts
Omlor, Patrick Henry. *See* Pro multis, mistranslated as "for all men"
*Orate Fratres* (*Worship*), 23, 25
**Orations,** 219–45, *244–5
Augé on traditional orations
"little relevance" to modern man, 224
their "limits," 222
their "negative theology," 224
Braga on
"new values, new perspectives," 223
revising "doctrinal reality," 223
"transforming effect on catechesis," 244
consequences for *lex orandi*, 243–4
deletions from ancient prayers, 224, 230, 239–40
elimination of
*anima* in prayers for dead, 235–6, 245
concepts at odds with ecumenism, 236–40, 245
hell and eternal rest, 228–9, 234–5, 245
merits of the saints, 240–1, 245
miracles, 241–3, 245
"negative theology," 224–31, 234–5, 245
*terrena despicere*, 231–4, 245
members Study Group 18b (*Orations*), 221–2
origins of the orations, 220–1
Prayer after Communion, 375
Prayer over the Gifts, 299–302, 303
principles for revisions, 222
process of revision, 221–2
statistics on extent of revisions, 222–3
*Ordo Cantus Missae*, 281n29, 308n15
*Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus Commentarium*, 56n25, 58, 61n42
*Ordo Missae*, 69, 78, *81, 197, 376
*Ottaviani Intervention.* See General Instruction 1970
Ottaviani, Alfredo, 4n6, 10, 70n70, 134–6, 142–3, 143n31, *157–8
Oury, Guy, OSB, 94, 297–8

*Paenitemini*, 230
Parsch, Pius, 16, 41, *45, 197, 284
Pastoral liturgy. *See* Jungmann, Josef, SJ
Patino, J. Martin, 78, 111, 115, 118–9, 122–3, 169, 198–9, 214, 356–7, 359
**Paul VI (Giovanni Battista Montini)**
as Montini, 10, 14, 40–4, 64

**Paul VI (Giovanni Battista Montini)** *(continued)*
access to Pius XII to promote reforms, 65, 197
celebration of youth dialogue Masses, 41, 197
influence of Bouyer's assembly theology, 42–4, *46–7, 107, 137n9, 159
influence of Casel, Guardini, Parsch, 41
influence of Jungmann, 46–7
corruption and pastoral liturgy theories, 42, 43, *46,
ecclesiology, *41
pastoral letter as Archbishop of Milan, 41–4
protects Bugnini, 71–2
support for Liturgical Movement, 23
and vernacular and simplified rites, 42, 84
as Paul VI, 3, 10, 14, 23, 40–1, 43–4, *46–7, 53, 65, 72, *80–2, 133, 134, *157–8, 177, 197, 209, 332, 347, 361, 368, 378–9, 384
abolition of Lenten penitential discipline, 230
approves
Children's Directory, 128–9, 334
*Comme le Prévoit*, 101, 102
Communion in the hand, 371–3
Eucharistic Prayers, 316, 324, 327, 331, *349–51, 384
General Instruction and corrects it 104–5, 136–7, 137n9
lectionary revision, *274, 384
"fuller exposition" of Scripture, 248, 266, 272
without reading it, 263
*Novus Ordo* and promulgates it, 79–80
and Consilium
answerable to him alone, 74
appoints Bugnini, 73, 76
defense of New Mass, 140–1, 142–3, *379
dismissal of Bugnini, 76n83
Encyclical *Mysterium Fidei* and new "presences," 111, 114, 137, 148, 373
**Paul VI (Giovanni Battista Montini)** *(continued)*
Holy Week reforms "adapting Roman Missal to contemporary mentality," 49–50
and Mass facing the people as a pleasure, a right, 165, 169n37, 177, 193
"My Lord and my God" inappropriate acclamation, 345
and *Ottaviani Intervention*, 4n6, 134–5
promulgates Vatican II Liturgy Constitution, 72
and restoration of ancient texts, 224n18, 309
and Roman Canon, 316
and Teilhard in Preparation of Gifts, 287–8
and vernacular, 83–4, 95–6, 101, *102
and "words of the Lord," 339
**Pian Reform Commission (1948–60),** 50–69, 80–1. *See also* Pius XII
appointment of members, 50, 52–3
Bugnini's role, 50–1, 52–3, 54, 76
"key to the reform," 49
*Memoria on a Liturgical Reform,* 53–4
operated secretly, 54
precedents established for subsequent reforms, 68–9
who did the actual work, 54
Pistoia, Alessandro, CM, 142n27, 143n34, 150n53, 162–3, 168, 173, 176, 180, *194, 386n9
Pius VI, 111n30, 177, 185
Pius X, St., 90
and Liturgical Movement, 15
Missal, Breviary, Rubrics, 403–6
basis for liturgical restoration, 405–6
use in Institute of Christ the King, 405
use in SSPX, 404
and modernists, 7, 17, 399
Pius XI, 11, 18, 61, 396
**Pius XII.** *See also* Pian Reform Commission (1948–60)
attempt to convert Teilhard, 64
interventions against errors of Liturgical Movement, 14

**Pius XII** *(continued)*
discourse to Assisi Congress, 24, 88
letter of Secretary of State, 20
*Mediator Dei,* 21–3, 24, 42, 51, 64, 68
and antiquarianism, 30, 30n49
contents and analysis, 21–3
doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, 22–3, 125–6, 388
and errors on priesthood, 118
and Latin, 90
and Offertory processions, 282
*Mystici Corporis* and errors on Church, 20
on separating tabernacle and altar, 24, 180, 181–2
lack of practical judgment, 64
on Latin, 88, 90
"policy of controlled concession," 64
possibility he was deceived by Bugnini, et al., 65, 71, 198
precedents established for subsequent reforms, 64–9
Pohl, Joseph, 116n52
*Pope Paul's New Mass,* xviii–xix, 4n6, 137n9
Potter, Gary K., 35, 93, 99
*Prece Eucharistica,* 324n65
**Prefaces**
form and history, 306
legislation, 307
in new EPs, 325, 328–35 passim
not integral restoration of old texts, 307
original forms "unbearable," 307
part of Eucharistic Prayer, 306
sources, 307
**Preference** as motive for adhering to the old Mass, 2, 5–6, 397–9
**Preparation of Gifts,** 275–304, *302–4
final commentary, 302
lay Offertory procession
history, 282–3, 303
as play-acting, 283, 303
nomenclature, 273, 302
offering prayers
new rite, 285–90, 303, 304
analysis, 289–90
congregational rite, 288
**Preparation of Gifts** *(continued)*
indeterminate expressions, 285–6
Jewish roots, 286–7
rubrical changes, 288–9
Teilhardian overtones, 287–8
traditional rite, 282–5
Offertory chant, 281–2
Offertory Rite in traditional Mass
history, 276–7
Luther's objections, 278–9, 284–5, 297, 302
purpose, 276–8, 302
sacrificial language, 276–9, 302
other prayers and rites, 303
*Come, the Sanctifier,* 292
*In the spirit of humility,* 291–2
incensation prayers, 293–4
*Pray, brethren,* 297–8
preparation of chalice, 290–1
*Receive, O Holy Trinity,* 296–7
washing of hands, 295–6
Prayer over the Gifts (Secret), 303–4. *See also* Orations
new theology, 299–301
sacrificial language, 301–2
the Secret, 298–9
reasons for abolishing traditional rite, 279–81
"anticipation," 279, 280, 297, 302–3
ecumenical dialogue jeopardized, 280–1, 411
lay participation canard, 279–80
modernism, 393
**Preparatory Commission for Vatican II's Liturgy Constitution (1960–2)**
Bugnini as Secretary, 70
Bugnini writes draft for Constitution on the Liturgy, 71
charge that progressives hijacked the Constitution, 71
members, 70
Priestly vestments, *194
new legislation and application, 189–91
ornate vestments at New Mass, 191–2
symbolism, 188–9
Vatican II on "sumptuous display," 192

**Pro multis**, mistranslated as "for all men," 320–4, *350
Brey on doubtful consecration, 321
Bugnini on repeated inquiries, 322
ecumenical motives, 322–3, 391
Jeremias' *Eucharistic Words*, 322
mistranslation finally corrected, 324
Omlor's *Questioning the Validity*, 320–1
controversy with McCarthy et al., 321–2
*De Defectibus*, 322
Zerwick's arguments, 322–3
Protestant observers and creation of New Mass, 75, 262

*Quas Primas*, 18n10
*Quattuor Abhinc Annos*, 5nn9–10
Quay, Paul M., SJ, 244n148

Raffa, Vincenzo, FDP, 222, 300–1, 393n18
Raffard de Brienne, Daniel, 4n6
Ranieri, E., 89n20
**Ratzinger, Joseph**. *See* Benedict XVI
Reed, Luther, 206n37, 278–9, 285, 311nn29–30, 338
"Reform of the reform," 6n11, 397, 399–400
Reid, Alcuin, OSB, 28, 54, 355n8
Reinhold, Hans A., 23, 25
Retro externals and the New Mass, 191–2
Richstatter, Thomas, OFM, 4n5, 22n21, 66, 103, 128,
Righetti, M., 54, 78
*Rite for the Dedication of A Church and Altar*, 162, 183, 185, *192
**Roman Canon**, 305–6, 309–16, *349–51.
*See also* Consecration; Eucharistic Prayers; Pro Multis; Silent Canon
movement to change Roman Canon, 310–6
Braga: subject to "psychological consideration," 312
Bugnini: "deplorable impoverishment… decadence," 313
motives for change,
ecumenism, 310–2, 335, 338
Liturgical Movement, 310
modernism, 312–3, 338
"time bombs," 314
**Roman Canon** *(continued)*
Vagaggini on "sins" of the Canon, 314–6
nomenclature, 305–6
origins, 309–10
priestly gestures, 325–7
St. Joseph, 68
translation errors, 93–4, 96, 100, 320–4
Vatican II passages employed to justify change, 313–4
Roncalli, Angelo. *See* John XXIII
Rose, A., 221
Rouget, A.M., OP, 100n63, 255–6, 283
*Rubricarum Instructum*. See John XXIII Missal
Ryan, John Barry, 314n34

Sacred vessels, 186–8
abolition of consecration, 188
legislation and application, 154n69, 162, 184, 187–8
purification, 154n69, 374, 379
***Sacrosanctum Concilium***. See Vatican II Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy
Salleron, Louis, 4n6
Sanborn, Donald J., 13, 347n127, 404
Sanctuary Arrangement, 172–9, *193. *See also* Mass Facing the People
altar
consecration, 175–6
material, 174
other altar furnishings, 176–7
relics, 174–5, 177
lectern (ambo), 178–9
president's chair, 177–8
**Sanctus**
congregational song, 308
and Eucharistic Prayer 2, 328–9
history, 308
part of Eucharistic Prayer, 306, 325
SC Divine Worship, 76, 93, 137, 143, 148, 161, 169, 186, 263, 324, 373, 388n11, 400n25
SC Rites, 7, 50, 52, 52n9, 53, 55, 61, 65, 74, 125n95, 135, 137, 154, 178, 255–6
Schmidt, Herman A.P., SJ, 89n18, 90, 90n25
Schnitzler, T., 78

Searle, Mark, 198n5
Seasoltz, R. Kevin, OSB, 110n29, 120n68, 128n105
Secretariat of State, 20, 41, 74, 76n83
Sheppard, Lancelot C., 100n63
Side altars, *194
  and assembly theology, 185–6
  discouragement for private Masses, 185–6
  history, 184–5
  legislation and application, 182, 185
  Synod of Pistoia, 185
**Silent Canon**, 316–20, *349–50. *See also* Eucharistic Prayers; Roman Canon
  abolition in May 1967, 320
  and assembly theology, 320, 393
  Gihr on symbolism, 316
  history, 317–9
  Jungmann on, 317
  motives for practice, 318–9
  Protestants and Trent, 319
Silveira, Arnaldo Xavier da, xix, 4n6, 122n85, 153n67, 209n41
Simón, Hadrian, OP, 113n36
**Simplified Rubrics (1955),** 56–8, *80
  Braga on "prelude," 57
  Bugnini on
    "bridge" to the future, 58
    "enlightened collaboration of all the active forces," 58
    "new city," 57
  calendar changes, 57
  suppression of Octaves and Vigils, 57
Smits, Kenneth, OFM Cap, 114, 114n40, 123n93
Society of St. Pius X (SSPX), 3, 13, 49
  attempts to "regularize" status, 3, 404
  liturgical practices
    Confiteor before communion, 362n26
    effect upon FSSP, Motu Proprio, 404–6
    and John XXIII Missal, 404–5
    and Paul VI changes, 403
    as result of Lefebvre's negotiations, 404–5
    and St. Pius X Missal, 404
  *Problem of the Liturgical Reform*, 4
Society of St. Pius X (SSPX) *(continued)*
    Baldovin on, 4n8
    on disappearance of propitiation, 151, 243n146
    on "memorial" theology in reform, 109
    on "Paschal Mystery" theology in reform, 151n55
    on theological nature of GI, 140n23
St. Joseph in Canon, 68
Statues and images, *194
  application of legislation, 161, 183–4
  history, 183–4
  legislation, 182–3
    and assembly theology, 183, 184
    and ecumenism, 184
  and Vatican II, 74
Study Group 10 (*de Ordine Missae*), 50n2, 78, 79, 105, 111, 128, 168, 169, 283, 367

Tabernacle, *193
  application, 181–2
  and assembly theology, 180
  legislation, 153, 154, 179–80
  not part of "dynamism" of Mass, 180
  Pius XII on separating tabernacle and altar, 24, 181–2
Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre, SJ, 64, *193, *302, 384
  influence of his ideas on
    Benedict XVI, 171, 171n48
    John Paul II, 288n59
    Paul VI, 287
    Preparation of Gifts
      *Mass on the World*, 287–8
      "work of human hands," 287–8, 394
    Ratzinger's "cosmic" east, 171–2
  Pius XII's attempt to convert, 64
Thesis. *See* Mass of Paul VI. Thesis and Terms
Thompson, Bard, 299n89
Thurian, Max, 75n80
Tillard, Jean-Marie R., OP, 105, 107, 109, 390n13
"Time bombs," 95, 313–4
Tirot, Paul, OSB, 280n22
Traditional Latin Mass, definition. *See* Mass of Paul VI.Thesis and Terms
*Tres Abhinc Annos* (1967), 77–8

Trinchard, Paul, 236
Tyrrell, George, 7,17, 18n9, 172

Vagaggini, Cipriano, OSB, 70, 261, 314–6, 330, 331, 337, *349
**Vatican II Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy** *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (1963), 69–73, *101
and abolition of silent Canon, 320, *349–50
approval by Council, 71–2
and authority of bishops' conferences, 66, 163,
change of Canon, passages cited for, 313–4
church furnishings, 163
statues and images, 182
tabernacle, 179
vestments and "sumptuous display," 192
Communion under both species, 367
contents, 72–3
contradictory formulations, 72–3, 387
cultural adaptation, 126
and ecumenical Eucharistic theology, 156
and Latin, 83, 101, 95
preparation of draft, 70–1
and "presences," 111, 113
on reform of Mass, 72–3, 222
cycle of Scripture readings, 258–60
introductory comments in rites, 202
Liturgy of Word/Eucharist, 259
"needless duplications," 354
organic growth of liturgical forms, 252
Prayer of Faithful, 255
principles SC §50, 73
"time bombs," 314, 320
Vernacular. *See* Liturgical language

Wagner, Johannes, 51, 51n6, 53, 78
Ward, Anthony, 220n3, 307, 385n4
Wathen, James, xviii, 4n6, 339n112
Williamson, Hugh Ross, 310
*Worship* (*Orate Fratres*), 23

Zerwick, Max, 322–3